FBIS DAILY REPORT

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PRESS DENOUNCES 'SOVIET-BIG-SERB PLOT'

AU051010 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 5 Jun 81

["The Events in Kosovo and the Secret Soviet-Big-Serb Collaboration"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 5 (ATA)--

- Soviet-Big-Serb plot is among the most dangerous to Yugoslavia and peace and security in the Balkans.

- For the present-day Soviet policy, one cannot and must not judge from the tactical stands, but from its strategic, expansionist and hegemonic objectives, to which are subordinated all the actions, diplomatic silence and chains of tanks, the pacifist slogans and underground plots. Russian bear might keep its eyes even closed, it might appear as if it does not move and as if it is sleepy, but it is precisely at that moment that it surveys and waits that the prey pass in front of it so that it catch it by the throat and swallow up -

- It is someone in Yugoslavia who works for the Soviet interests, who more and more brings the grist to the mill of the Soviets. In all the secret game that the Soviets are actually playing in regard to Yugoslavia, they back up and incite the big-Serb clan of Belgrade against the Albanians of Yugoslavia and against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania -

- Moscow has reckoned that the Serb "strong hand" which is hitting Kosovo now, will deal blows tomorrow also upward in Bosnia, in Croatia and Slovenia. When this time will come, which by now is seen that it is not too far away, the Serb clan will indispensably be in need of the Soviet aid -

- Khrushchev had told the Albanian leaders at a meeting in Moscow that Rankovic was for the Soviets the more positive man in Yugoslavia -

These are said among others in the article published today by the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT entitled: "The Events in Kosovo and the Secret Soviet-Big-Serb Collaboration".

Follows the text of the article:

The press of all countries, governmental, party, independent, etc., has extensively written about the tragic events in Kosovo, caused by the big-Serb clan of Belgrade. The judgement has been given and the stands have been defined in this or in that way. The United States, too, which does not claim distinction for its sympathy in regard to the Albanians of the P.S.R. of Albania, expressed its opinions and stands not only through the press, but also through the State Department. It tried to be neutral and to consider the events in Kosovo as an internal affair of Yugoslavia, as an affair which does not infringe the "American interests."

Only the Soviet revisionists did not speak at all, as if nothing had occurred in an area which they consider "close to the borders of the Soviet Union" and who manifest an exaggerated sensibility in other cases.

In a word, all the world spoke, made reports and commentaries, whereas the Soviets and their vassals kept silence. Why?

The impression the Soviets want to give is that they maintain a neutral stand, that they do not speak from the fear of being accused of one-sidedness and interference. Through their "silence" they want to say to the world that the Soviets are not of those that interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, as they are constantly accused. By keeping silence, it appears, as if they say: "Let the Albanians and the Yugoslavs solve their affairs themselves".

This stand adopted by the Soviets is a bluff, but a badly disguised bluff. When their interests require, they interfere in the internal affairs of others not only in words, but also with army. The present Kremlin chieftains have shown and are constantly showing that they are not of those that claim distinction of their tact and correctness in the international relations.

For the present-day Soviet policy, one cannot and must not judge from the tactical stands, but from its strategic, expansionist and hegemonic objectives, to which are subordinated all the actions, diplomatic silence and chains of tanks, the pacifist slogans and underground plots. Russian bear might keep its eyes even closed, it might appear as if it does not move and as if it is sleepy, but it is precisely at that moment that it surveys and waits that the prey pass in front of it so that it catch it by the throat and swallow up.

The Soviets, for whom the Balkans is an area which is under their permanent surveillance, an area where they have special imperialist political, military and strategic interests, are interested a great deal that the relations between Yugoslavia and Albania keep aggravating, possibly in maximum. They are interested that the peoples of Yugoslavia quarrel with the Albanians, something which would prepare the terrain to the Soviets to interfere in our internal affairs.

The aggravation of the relations between our two countries would bring to the Soviets a series of advantages, which in normal situations and conditions, they could not succeed [as received]. In the first place, this aggravation further weakens the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is in profound national, economic, political and state disintegrations and contradictions. It also harms the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania, which is an unconquerable bastion against Soviet social-imperialism, American imperialism and world reaction.

Another advantage the Soviets would draw from a Yugoslav-Albanian quarrel is the shakening [as received] of actual stability established in the Balkan Peninsula. The upset of this kind of stability menaces south-eastern flank of NATO, Moscow's main rival, Greece and Italy with a disturbance and uncertainty, something which would be very welcome and of great interest to the strategic plans of Moscow.

At the same time it is already clearly seen that it is someone in Yugoslavia who works for the Soviet interests, who more and more brings grist to the mill of the Soviets. There are forces there, who, proceeding from their selfish, national-chauvinist and hegemonic-bureaucratic interests, comply and unite with the Soviets and are ready to sacrifice the lofty interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia as well as to endanger those of the neighbouring peoples. With us, in Albania, the Soviets have no basis at all where they could rely on, because the Albanian people have long since cut off and routed out those who could assist them, as there have been B. Balluku and A. Kellezi, who have been proclaimed by some Yugoslav leaders as their friends. Before the court trial of the people, these traitors have admitted their double ties and have shown the plotting plans that their inspirers were hatching up against Albania and other peoples of the Balkans.

In all the secret game that the Soviets are actually playing in regard to Yugoslavia, they back up and incite the big-Serb clan of Belgrade against the Albanians of Yugoslavia and against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. They do not speak about what is occurring in Kosovo, because they want that the big-Serb clan act there without any obstacle, march more and more forward in its adventure, open all the cards in the best way [as received] and go at such lengths from where it cannot retreat, when only one road has remained to it, to embrace and completely fall in the Soviet lap. Moscow has reckoned that the Serb "strong hand" which is hitting Kosovo now, will deal blows tomorrow also upward in Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia.

When this time will come, which by now is seen that it is not too far away, the Serb clan will indispensably be in need of the Soviet aid. And in this case, they know how to act and what to ask for. How much this aid costs, we have seen in Czechoslovakia with Gustav Husak or in Afghanistan with Babrak Karmel.

The silence of Soviets on the events in Kosovo is a direct support for the big-Serb clan, an aid for the strengthening of Serbia and an encouragement for it to impose its hegemony over the rival Slovenian-Croatian clan, which is pro-West and pro-American.

In regard to the struggle between these clans and its development in the future, 15 years ago, Comrade Enver Hoxha has written the article "Yugoslavia in Cross-Roads" published in ZERI I POPULLIT on August 2, 1966 (See Vol 33 of the WORKS, p 243-253).

The ideological platforms and political objectives of these rival clans have already taken a clear-cut form, just like the struggle for their realization has begun.

The big-Serb clan which aims at establishing its hegemony and domination over all the federal republics stands for the bureaucratic centralisation and for unitarianism, which it considers as the main means for the realisation of these objectives. Meanwhile, the Croatian-Slovenian clan is for Titoite "self-administration", which guarantees to it a sort of administrative, economic, and to a certain extent, a political independence from Belgrade, and which represents a kind of shield from the ever present and ever threatening Serb hegemonic aspirations.

The "self-administering" system has not been in favour of Serbia so far. It has left the big-Serb clan economically weak. On the other hand, the most known representatives of Serb chauvinism, Rankovic and his group, were liquidated. Following him, the second Serb team Nikezic Popovic was liquidated. The Croatian-Slovenian personalities began to breathe and move freely in the Yugoslav political scene. Kardelj worked out the new Yugoslav Constitution which sanctioned by law the "self-administration" and wrote a series of theoretical works on self-administration, to leave to his compatriots as a weapon in the ideological and political struggle with the powerful Serb clans.

Following the death of Tito, who preserved the equilibrium among the republics and curbed the great appetite of Serbs, the toppled and untoppled clans of Serbia want to take revenge on the Croatian-Slovenian clan. Rankovic himself has more frequently begun to leave the Dalmatian Coast and appear in Belgrade, to further prolong the talks with his friends in "Aco-Devetka" and "Beogradski Podrum" Cafe.

It is common knowledge to all that, at this time, the Soviet revisionists had backed up this Titoite [word indistinct], had incited his appetite for power and had propagated him as the sole man that should replace Tito either when he was alive or after his death. Khrushchev had told the Albanian leaders at a meeting in Moscow that Rankovic was for the Soviets the more positive man in Yugoslavia. As a proof to this consideration and their conviction they brought as an example the case that when he was drinking with "the Soviet comrades" in Moscow he had sung the Anthem of the Soviet Union.

This stand of Soviets towards Rankovic is expressed publicly as well, on the occasion of a speech he held in Sremska Mitovica of Serbia on July 4, 1960, where he attacked socialist Albania in the presence of the Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors. Since that time, through official notes the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have denounced this benevolent behaviour of the Soviets and Bulgarians towards Rankovic. This matter is exposed by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow, November 1960. In his speech he said that the slanders, attacks and Rankovic's words would be of no significance to us, but these words were listened to with the greatest sincerity by the Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors to Belgrade who attended this meeting, without their making the slightest protest... In his letter of reply to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Zhivkov dared to reject our protest and call the speech of the bandit Rankovic a positive one.

Actually, it may happen that the Soviets, for different opportunities, may not pin their hopes on the Rankovic's card, which might be useless, but they pin all their hopes on those people who are for his ideology and policy.

The Soviets have been, are and will always be side by side the big-Serbs. Their interests meet. This occurs also now in the case of events in Kosovo. Both the Soviet revisionists and the big Serbs are sworn enemies of Albanians, be they in the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia or in the PSR of Albania. As the Albanians are factors of stability of the Yugoslav Federation, they are interested in suppressing them. The genocide that occurred in Kosovo due to the fault of the big-Serbs and their anti-Albanian campaign weakens in general the federation, opens the road to the Serbian domination and Soviet interference. Naturally, befitting the Albanian factor that is against the big-Serbs and the Soviet Union, the weakening, in general, of the Yugoslav Federation will strengthen the big-Bulgarian demands for Macedonia. These big-Bulgarian aims will grow stronger or will fade away in proportion to the weakening or increase or the Soviet influence in Yugoslavia. The Soviets have the Bulgarians and their claims towards Macedonia under their control, like a chess pawn which they move according to the passing circumstances.

The Soviet-big-Serb plot is among the most dangerous to Yugoslavia and the peace and security in the Balkans. If the peoples of Yugoslavia do not become aware of it, it will become quite threatening.

The argument of big Serbs who say that the founding of the Republic of Kosovo inside the framework of the Yugoslav Federation and in friendship and close cooperation with the other republics destroys the Federation does not hold water. On the contrary, the "Republic of Kosovo" strengthens the status quo of the federation, it strengthens the position of the other republics inside it, strengthens unity and genuine and correct fraternity among the nations and nationalities that live inside the Yugoslav state. If there is something that destroys, this is only the following of hegemonic plans of big-Serbs and of the strategic plans of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Irrespective of what has occurred amongst us, we say to the peoples of Yugoslavia to be vigilant towards the "silent" diversion by the Soviets and towards those, who, in order to hide the joint plot with the Soviets, accuse Albania that she, by defending the rights of the people of Kosovo allegedly interferes in the home affairs of Yugoslavia, threatens its integrity and sovereignty. It is high time that the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia and all the progressive people clearly see the stands and actions of big-Serbs towards Kosovo and Albania, stands and actions which are followed with sympathy and are backed up by Soviet social-imperialism, and which put at stake not only the future of the Yugoslav Federation, but also peace and security in the Balkans and Europe.

TIRANA DAILY REPORTS EMBASSY INCIDENT

AU051335 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 5 Jun 81

["A Detective Novel in the Pages of the Newapaper POLITIKA of Belgrade"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 5 Jun (ATA)--Under the above title the newspaper BASHKIMI published today an article which reads:

The newspaper POLITIKA of Belgrade, known for its articles with serious claims, has recently begun to practice the detective novel as well. And as no veracity at all is needed for this kind of literature, the editorial board of POLITIKA hopes that it will score full success in this respect.

> - Herljevic has put you in a very difficult position due to his actions at your embassy in Tirana, but don't think that you will come out of this situation by inventing detective novels. -

POLITIKA linked the most recent subject in this field with an annoying event. From the offices of its editorial board in Belgrade, it had allegedly found out and seen the one who applied the explosives on the terrace of the kitchen of the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana and that this person is precisely the man from Kosovo Hysen Trpeza. According to POLITIKA this Hysen Trpeza has allegedly all the abilities, not only to hurl bombs at the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana, but a thick book can be written on him, where detectives will wander like in the novels with James Bond, which are sold in plenty in the book shops of Belgrade. As is seen, those in the kitchen of POLITIKA of Belgrade do not preoccupy themselves at all that the world might laugh at them, suffice that someone speak and write about their rubbish.

Every day, the pages of POLITIKA, the bulletins of TANJUG Angency and some other Serbian organs are covered in plenty with the Ustashas, Fascists, Ballists, even a wandering vagabond, like the son of the former King Zog, who, at one time are declared "allies of Tirana" and at other times are displaced to dark clubs somewhere in Europe or other continents. The impression is created that these editorial boards have familiarized themselves so much with these remains of the World War Two [as received] so that they do not like at all to depart from them. And when such a rich criminal world exists in the spheres of propaganda, it is quite natural that they try to measure the other, too, with their yard stick.

We understand, gentlemen of POLITIKA, that Herljevic has put you in a very difficult position, due to his action at your embassy in Tirana. But do not think that you will come out of this situation by inventing detective novels. You have cooked up in your kitchen a pilaff with nails, which you cannot swallow up now, but it is not the others who are to be blamed for this.

> -Socialist Albania has its own masters and you will never be able to export your terror and terrorists here. If they render services to you, keep them. As far as we are concerned, we have long ago liquidated and rooted out both fascism and its offspring terrorism.

We really laugh at your sick fantasy, but we also bear in mind the fact that sick fantasy is a sign of the loss of control of reasoning, so it can be turned into a danger. You who have as a teacher a known academician of genocide, [as reported] such as, Chubrillovic, you who are putting the people in the police cells only because they carry on their heads white Albanian traditional caps, you who are compelling the families of Kosovo to leave the doors of their houses open so that you may make house searches at any hour, day or night, you who do not allow your workers to turn back from emigration to bury their relatives that you have killed in the streets, you may do everything. We know this, one can expect everything from you. But, you may join all the most suspicious organisations and clubs, you may accept all kinds on types and scum in your country. Despite this, you should have one thing clear: Socialist Albania has its own masters and you will never be able to export your terror and terrorists here. If they render services to you, keep them. As far as we are concerned, we have long ago liquidated and rooted out both fascism and its offspring-terrorism.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE--Tirana 5 Jun (ATA)--The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the French Republic, Petraq Pojani, presented the credentials to the president of the French Republic, Francois Mitterrand on June 3, 1981. Attending the ceremony of the presentation of the credentials were the Minister of Foreign Relations Claude Cheysson, the Secretary General of the Presidency Pierre (Beregovoi), the adviser of the president (Huber Vedrine) and the chief of the protocol of foreign relations Jean (Bernar) Merime. The ambassador was accompanied by the advisers of the embassy, Kujtim Hysenaj and Thoma Hazhi. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English at 1000 GMT 5 Jun 81 AU]

NEW KOREAN AMBASSADORS--Tirana 5 Jun (ATA)--The newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the PSR of Albania, Im Kong Su arrived in this country yesterday. The ambassador was welcomed at the airport by the chief of the protocol branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jovan Antoni. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English at 1000 GMT 5 Jun 81 AU]

GENERAL ELECTIONS HELD ON 7 JUNE; ZHIVKOV ACIVITIES

AU071750 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Summary] "On 7 June in Bulgaria, elections for National Assembly delegates, city council members, mayors, judges and members of the courts took place. The elections took place in great political upsurge and turned into a national manifestation of unity and cohesion around the party's April Leninist line."

"Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, voted at Sofia's 281st district." Afterwards, he took part in the spontaneous people's celebrations. "The other party and state leaders voted in various districts throughout the country."

The elections' results will be published later on. However, it is already known that "Comrade Todor Zhivkov has unanimously been elected National Assembly delegate of Sofia's 281st electoral district."

Zhivkov Victory Official

AU071955 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] At the end of election day, the district election commission of Sofia's 281st election district and the leadership of the mass political organizations of the Dimitrov District visited Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, at the Boyana Residence.

Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of Sofia's Dimitrov District BCP Committee, announced the results of the elections at the 281st electoral district, where Comrade Todor Zhivkov was a candidate for the National Assembly. All 20,483 voters in the 26 polling stations unanimously voted for Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman. The announcement was greeted with stormy and prolonged applause. The first secretary of the Dimitrov District BCP Committee greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the brilliant victory and assured him that the working people of the fighting Dimitrov District will further devote all their forces to implementing the bright instructions of the 13th BCP Congress and to turning the district into an exemplary socialist district.

Kiril Tarabanov, chairman of the district election commission, handed Comrade Todor Zhivkov his certificate as representative to the Eighth National Assembly.

Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, expressed cordial thanks for the confidence shown in him and for the great organizational and political work related to preparing and conducting the elections. He stressed that the confidence of the people obliges the National Assembly representatives to work for further building the developed socialist society in Bulgaria, and to implement the strategic decisions of the 12th BCP Congress.

The meeting was attended by Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee, and Petur Mezhdurechki, chairman of Sofia City People's Council.

ECONOMIC PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH SYRIA IN SOFIA

AU050854 Sofia BTA in English 0834 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jun (BTA)--The seventh session of the Bulgaro-Syrian Committee on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation ended here yesterday.

At the closing sitting it was emphasized that the session had marked a considerable step forward in the development of bilateral economic cooperation. It was pointed out that bilateral trade in the next five years will reach 500 million dollars.

Four economic cooperation documents were signed--a protocol on the work of the session, cooperation agreements in the field of power generation and electrification, one on cooperation in planning and a protocol on the work of the newly founded subcommission on agriculture.

The documents provide for Bulgaria to continue to render assistance to Syria in the designing and construction of irrigation systems and tunnels, as well as the delivery of machinery, equipment and materials for these sites. Syria is expected to make use of the Bulgarian experience in the building of agro-industrial complexes, and also Bulgaria to send over farm specialists to Syria. There are going to be organized joint productions in agriculture, and seeds will be exchanged.

The possibilities for rendering assistance by the Bulgarian side in the electrification of towns and villages and the construction of electric power stations in Syria will be investigated. Bulgaria is to send over specialists in the field of power generation.

The cooperation agreement on the planning sphere will give impetus to bilateral cooperation.

The protocol on the work of the session was signed by the co-chairman of the joint committee--Mr Georgi Pavlov, chairman of the Environment Conservation Committee with the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and by Mr Salim Yasin, minister of state for planning affairs of Syria. The cooperation agreement in the planning sphere was signed by Mr Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and Mr Salim Yasin.

Syrians Depart

AU052008 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Deputy premier of the Syrian Arab Republic, 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah and members of the Syrian Government-economic delegation led by Salim Yasin, Syria's state minister of planning affairs, who attended the seventh session of the Bulgarian-Syrian Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, left the country today. The Syrian deputy premier had talks with Andrey Lukanov on matters of the bilateral, economic, trade and scientific-technical cooperation. He also participated in the closing session of the committee and attended the signing of the documents ceremony connected with the session.

SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL VISITS 5,6 JUNE

AU071926 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] Sofia, 7 Jun (BTA)--Political consultations between Bulgaria's and Spain's Ministries for Foreign Affairs were held in Sofia on June 5 and 6, 1981.

The delegation of Bulgaria's Foreign Affairs Ministry was headed by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, ambassador and chief of department, and the delegation of Spain's Foreign Affairs Ministry by Mr (Duran Loriga), director general of the political management.

At the talks the two high ranking officials had, questions related to the present state of bilateral relations and the prospects for their further promoting were discussed and views on topical international issues were exchanged.

The two parties to the talks expressed their readiness for raising the level of the political contacts, for expanding the legal and contractual basis on which bilateral relations are established, for making the best use of the existing possibilities for promoting the mutually advantageous trade, the economic and industrial cooperation and tourism.

Exchanging views on international issues they pointed to the necessity of strengthening and deepening the process of detente, of curbing the arms race and of launching more efficient measures for disarmament and for just and lasting settlement of some controversial issues.

They also expressed their confidence that the Madrid talks of the signatory states of the European Security and Cooperation Conference will bring to positive result for strengthening peace and the equitable cooperation in Europe only in case a constructive approach on the part of all the interested countries is at hand.

Dr (Duran Loriga) was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign affairs minister. They discussed some topical issues concerning the international situation.

ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATES RAUL CASTRO ON BIRTHDAY

AU051739 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jun 81 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent the following telegram to Raul Castro Ruiz, second secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and first vice president of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers, as well as minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Forces:

Dear Comrade Raul Castro,

It is a particular pleasure for me to congratulate you most sincerely on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as on my own behalf, on the occasion of your 50th birthday and to wish you vigorous health and many successes in your highly responsible work.

The communists and working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria know you as one of the closest fellow-workers of Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban revolution, and as a remarkable figure of the Cuban Communist Party, as well as of the international workers movement.

We highly appreciate your great contribution to the development of comprehensive relations between our two fraternal countries and parties and peoples, and their armed forces, to the consolidation of the unity of socialist community countries.

I wish you, with all my heart, dear Comrade Raul Castro, great strength and creative energy so that you may serve the Cuban people's cause as selflessly as ever, for the successful implementation of the tasks set forth by the Second Cuban Communist Party Congress, for the further building of socialism on the island of freedom, and for the defense of the achievements of the Cuban revolution, and for the cause of peace and socialism throughout the world.

POLISH DEVELOPMENTS, KATOWICE FORUM CRITICIZED

Rakowski on Compromise Limits

LD072340 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2150 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has resolutely condemned the increasingly frequent attacks of some bodies of Walesa's trade unions on the PZPR and the Polish state bodies.

In an address delivered at a city conference of the party in Bydgoszcz he also emphasized that the line of accord and dialogue commenced by the PZPR Central Committee Sixth Plenum is now in danger and open to a powerful attack. It could collapse as a result of the activity of certain centrifugal or radical and irresponsible forces who are (?pushing) into the background the question of the independence of Poland and the preservation of state existence.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that these are forces who understood the willingness of the party and government to an accord, dialogue and sensible compromises as an appetite for steps leading to such a weakening of power that it [as heard] would become a helpless toy in the hands of the determined enemies of the party. Mieczyslaw Rakowski pointed out that there exist in Walesa's trade unions forces who have made it their task to fight people's powers, to fight the party and who have daily been attacking the leadership.

He also said that Poland is now facing the question of people's power which is endangered and together with it the Polish state's existence is endangered.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed that the limit of sensible compromises, pursued by people's power and that PZPR in the hope that the compromises would be understood as an endeavor to create and that it is necessary to realize that in the coming days and weeks every member of the PZPR will have to answer this question: To which side does he belong?

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 0830 GMT on 8 June carries an identical report on the speech in Bydgoszcz by Poland's Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, except that it adds the following passage: "Mieczyslaw Rakowski went on to say that the enemies of socialism have started a new stage of tension: They have turned to the Soviet Union. Anti-Sovietism is evident not only in tearing red stars from Soviet military graves. It is also apparent in various factory papers. Many of them have been hissing against the Soviet Union for months, and fun is made of the country which is the guarantor of Poland's borders and which has been helping Poland selflessly during the past few months.

["Poland is nearing a very dangerous frontier and does not need strikes and demonstrations. The highest card is being played in Poland: the well-being of Poland and its peaceful future, stressed Mieczyslaw Rakowski in his speech."]

Resolutions Are 'Clear Cut'

LD051742 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 5 Jun 81

["Topic of the Day" program; unattributed commentary]

[Text] In Poland, the resolutions of what is known as the Katowice Forum have called forth a variety of comment. There are those who are aware of the interest of the Katowice Forum in promoting the process of Poland's socialist regeneration; there are those underestimating the impact of the warning voice from Katowice; and there are forces hostile to socialism who openly attack the Katowice resolutions. The resolutions are clear cut and easy to understand. Endeavors to distort their contents prompted the Katowice Forum to release another document which is even more explicit as regards the country's sociopolitical regeneration.

Let us sum up what is the gist of the Katowice resolutions. The communists who adopted them point out that, in their opinion, socialist regeneration has been the broad democratization of the past period, as well as putting into effect the process of socialist construction in Poland. At the same time, they called for strict and just punishment of those responsible for deviation from the ideological and moral principles of socialism, of those who have violated rights and laws. As regards the activities of Poland's United Workers' Party, the Katowice Forum pointed to the necessity of strengthening its leading role within society, of watching over its Marxist-Leninist character, and of promoting genuine workers' participation in running the bodies of the people's power and state administration.

The forum called for abiding by principles of justly distributing the national income and promoting market production to cover the requirements of the working people, taking into account the requirements of the young generation and securing prospects of a peaceful life for young people. The Katowice Forum clearly pointed to symptoms hampering the country's socialist regeneration, symptoms which it resolutely opposes. The communists of the Katowice Forum made it clear that they are against any kind of manipulation with justified working class protest, that they refuse unfounded attacks against honest members and officials of the party and that they consistently oppose undermining the party's leading position, as well as removing workers from party and trade union bodies.

The Katowice resolutions are no less principled in opposing any tendency to disparage decisions of the court, to tolerate violations of the law and mass outrages. All this proves the fact that the Katowice Forum is firmly supporting the process of Poland's socialist rengeration. This process is being made use of for their own counterrevolutionary ends by some rightwing revisionist and antisocialist forces in Poland. It has long been evident that the onslaught of reactionary forces in Poland is primarily aimed against the party of Poland's communists and against its ideological and organizational action unity. Reactionary forces oppose, above all, those communists who consider the strengthening of Marxist-Leninist principles to be a key issue of the United Workers' Party's further existence. Those communists are most consistently opposing the forces who are out to deviate from Poland's socialist course.

Olszowski Remarks Noted

LD071152 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Commentator Jiri Cedrovsky review of the past week's events]

[Excerpt] The world's attention was focused last week on the events in Poland. The gathering of communists from Katowice, the Katowice Forum, issued documents analyzing the complex processes taking place in the party and the country and evaluating the danger threatening socialism in Poland. The documents further protested against the incitement of anti-Soviet hysteria and the spreading of slanders and attacks against the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The initiative of the Katowice Forum evoked attention within Poland as well as abroad. The rightist leaders of the so-called Solidarity launched an attack against the views of miners and the founders of Katowice, and as the press agency TASS says, so did the leaderships of some party organizations in the areas in which the Walesa trade unions call the tune and also some papers, as a rule those which have long attacked the PZPR from revisionist positions.

The leadership of the PZPR met with representatives of the Polish media on Friday.

Stefan Olszdwski spoke at the meeting and noted that the work of the Politburo is complicated by the tension and danger which is constantly brought about. He spoke against the continuing psychological war which is undermining the activity of the state administration and the principles of Poland's cooperation with the other socialist states. As Stefan Olszowski said, the Polish crisis can be effectively overcome only with the help of this cooperation.

Stefan Olszowski told Polish journalists that the socialist countries are interested in the stabilization of the political and economic life in Poland, the consolidation of the PZPR's positions and the basic values of socialism, and that the unease of the fraternal countries is connected with Poland's reliability as an ally and its ability to fulfill its military and economic duties. These countries give us important economic help, in spite of our not fulfilling quite a number of our obligations, Stefan Olszowski said.

Precongress Discussion

AU052025 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jun 81 p 7

[Jan Lipavsky, Warsaw dispatch: "Facing Up to Poland's Problems; Meeting of Delegates to the Extraordinary Congress"]

[Text] A few days ago a meeting of almost 230 delegates to the ninth extraordinary congress elected at annual meetings of primary party organizations was held on the initiative of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. The purpose of the consultation, which was chaired by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary S. Kania, has to involve the delegates in the congress preparations. Their statements at the consultation were, to a certain degree, a reflection of the situation and sentiments prevailing prior to the congress, which will be held in a month and a half.

H. Kubiak of the Jagellonian University in Krakow declared at the meeting that the congress must live up to the party's historical responsibility vis-a-vis the international workers movement. "The congress," he went on to say, "must not be the arithmetic sum of individual proposals and regional ambitions nor a round-table discussion of 2,000 people." He added that if the congress is to fulfill its role, it must adopt a program. H. Kubiak called party unity the most important thing.

K. Pawlak from the Fonica enterprise in Lodz expressed his concern that if 49 diverse programs (there are 49 voivodships--J.L.'s note) are presented at the congress and each voivodship strives to push through its own program, the congress will turn into 49 sejms.

Piotr Gabrys from the Dolmel enterprise in Wroclaw stressed: "It is our obligation to turn down all regional ambitions and to keep in mind that the program we have to work out must be the entire party's program."

Views on the issue of party unity differed. R. Hanisz from the Poreba machine tool plant said, "There is a lot of misunderstanding around that question. What matters is not a unanimity," he went on to say, "which attracts applause." According to Hanisz, "Controversions and contradictions generate progress, in accordance with the laws of dialectics." T. Siergej from the Stargardzie Szczecinske railroad junction expressed the following view: "We need a unity that is formed around party bodies and not a unity formed by various groups outside those bodies."

During the discussion on the so-called horizontal structures that have been frequently formed precisely outside the framework of party statutes and outside or behind the backs of party bodies, A. Koscinski from the Stomil enterprise in Grudziaca declared that those structures lead to clashes within party organizations. "It is necessary to give a frank answer to the question whether there are people in the party who would like to destroy it from within," A. Koscinski said.

J. Zdrojewski from the K. Swierczewski works in Warsaw also dealt with the problem of party unity. He said, "There is a division in the party between those above and those below. And there is another division within the party leadership," he added, "which can be deduced on the basis of the information media."

J. Zajf from the MPK enterprise in Lodz noted in that connection that it is necessary that Politburo members and members of the PZPR Central Committee express their positions on the present reality.

A. Koscinski from the Stomil enterprise said: "Or are we to conduct a campaign prior to every congress against those who had held posts, irrespective of whether they exercised them well or not?"

The course and the results of elections into the new committees of primary party organizations were also in the focus of attention. W. Lis from the factory of small-displacement vehicles (FSM) in Tychy claimed that there are people who lost the elections and are saying today that genuine communists are being "pushed out" of the party whereas those who remained are allegedly counterrevolutionaries and social democrats. "That is obvious nonsense," W. Lis added, "because those who went lack a basis in the enterprise." T. Swidrak from the Drup enterprise in Nowy Sacz evidently disagreed with that statement because he said: "There are instances of comrades being 'pushed out' of the party apparatus...there is a lot of malice and manifestations of rashness in it," he said. There was an ambiguous response to the statement of J. Brozek from the hydral plant in Wroclaw, according to whom there is no need to shed tears because so few workers are being elected: "If someone whom workers themselves elected as their representative was given trust, then it is not important who he is but what views he represents."

The discussion also revolved around the question of nationalist and counterrevolutionary forces in the country. J. Kraus from the factory for small-displacement vehicles in Bialski-Biala said: "Many words were said here against using such terminology as counterrevolution or voluntarism. Perhaps what I say is obsolete, but just look around at what is happening." He then said: "There are alarming instances of desecration of monuments to Soviet soldiers. Surely one must react to this in a sufficiently decisive manner!" J. Brozek from the hydral plant added to this: "Our commitment is to defend the people's power, because quite a few attempts have already been made to break its neck..we hear about attacks on Soviet soldiers. If this is true, then it must also be said who has done this, who is to blame."

St. Dziekonski from the Chemitex plant in Sochaczewie stressed: "The antisocialist forces have strengthened in proportion to our becoming weaker...." A. Koscinski testified that both counterrevolutionary and revisionist forces are operating in the country, "and they are the ones with the destructive impact." He continued, "At the conference of representatives of the enterprise self-administration in Krakow, the Gdansk representatives suggested establishing a new party--the Polish Labor Party. This was no coincidental proposal," A. Koscinski said. "This was aimed at creating an atmosphere of tension before the congress."

These standpoints stood in sharp contrast, for instance to that maintained by J. Brozek, who spoke as though everybody in Poland were in favor of the socialist system. In fact G. Rysz from the Stomil plant in Sanok stated that "it is an error to claim that everybody is in favor of socialism. At least, not everybody is in favor of the same kind of socialism." G. Rysz added, "That is also why we need the party's ideological declaration, in which we will designate the class enemies and express what we understand under the terms socialism, freedom and class struggle."

In the discussion at this conference of congress delegates even "Solidarity" had its place. W. Lis spoke about the "evolution" taking place in this organization: "For 2 months the pressure of the worker base has been growing to make the 'Solidarity' in our plant devote itself primarily to matters proceeding from the statutes.

Those who are coming out with antisocialist slogans can no longer remain hidden behind the backs of the 'Solidarity' organization," W. Lis from the Tychy factory for small-displacement vehicles said.

P. Gabrys from the Dolmel plant in Wroclaw added: "We must ask ourselves whether the trade unions are in fact trade unions today; whether they are not a kind of political organization (the speaker had "Solidarity" in mind--J.L.). For my part I maintain that they have such aspirations. On the basis of observations in our plant I nevertheless judge that the situation can be coped with."

R. Bandoszek from the Unitra plant in Bydgoszcz and T. Swidrak from the Drup plant in Nowy Sacz demanded that the party leadership lead the government to be more energetic in its activity, particularly as regards the supplies of foodstuffs to the population; this is regarded as one of the basic conditions for improving the entire atmosphere prior to the party congress.

STROUGAL RECEIVES SOVIET, HUNGARIAN OFFICIALS

LD051956 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received in Prague today the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Aleksandr Botvin. They discussed questions connected with the further development of mutual relations and all-round cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

Comrade Lubomir Strougal also received in Prague today the chairman of the Central People's Control Commission of the Hungarian People's Republic, Jozsef Szakali. In the course of their conversation on the main tasks which Czechoslovakia and Hungary are solving in the political and economic sphere, they stressed the importance and usefulness of a further intensification of cooperation and mutual exchanges of experiences and activities of directing bodies at all levels.

KAPEK RECEIVES VISITING MSZMP DELEGATION

LD041616 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 4 Jun 81

[Text] Antonin Kapek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the Prague City Party Committee, received today a delegation of the MSZMP Budapest City Committee headed by its secretary, Mrs Andras Kiraly.

In a cordial and friendly conversation Comrade Antonin Kapek informed the guests about the current tasks of the Prague party organization in the fulfillment of the 16th CPCZ Congress conclusions and the coming elections to representative bodies. He emphasized the significance of the intensification of Prague's economy in the development of our national economy. He also expressed the conviction that the Hungarian guests' visit will contribute to the further deepening of contacts and cooperation between the two party bodies.

After the meeting the Hungarian guests went on a sightseeing tour of the capital city. They acquainted themselves with its historical monuments and modern construction and visited the Prague subway.

FRG SUPPORT FOR REVANCHISTS UNDERMINING RELATIONS

LD070150 Prague CTK in English 1656 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] Frankfurt am Main, 6 Jun (CETEKA)--"Sudeten German Days," a meeting of Germans transferred after the Second World War from Czechoslovakia, officially started here today.

Revanchist leaders will once again try to keep alive hopes for regaining control over Czechoslovak border regions, and to support their propaganda they invited Czechoslovak emigrant Ota Filip.

According to the spokesman of the revanchists, Walter Becher, his organization obtains 15,000 marks from the Bavarian Government to finance prizes awarded (?in) the event. The Frankfurt city administration and the Hesse government granted the revanchists about 140,000 marks to hold the rally. This support for revanchist organizations is an open violation of the policy of detente and undermines efforts to normalize relations between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany.

ADDITIONS, CORRECTION TO HUSAK PREELECTION SPEECH

[The following additions to and correction of the item entitled "Leaders Attend, Address Prague Preelection Rally" and subtitled "Husak Address" published in the 5 June Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, pages D 7-15, were taken from RUDE PRAVO of 4 June, thus providing any substantive additions of the RUDE PRAVO version of the speech.

On page D 8, last paragraph, last line, make read: "...women and the active role of young people ..." (supplying queried word, rephrasing)

On page D 9, second paragraph, line seven make read: "...work of almost 200,000 deputies of representative..." (correcting figure)

On page D 10, last paragraph, and page D 11, first paragraph, make read: "...path will be, we realistically take into consideration the growing demands and needs of today and of future years, as well as the complex nature of the world's political and economic development. But not only tasks and demands grow. Our potential--our people's experience and knowledge--is also growing. The economic potentials and cooperation among members of the socialist community are growing in strength." (rephrasing, supplying indistinct passage)

On page D 11, third paragraph, lines 17 and 18, make read: "...old and out-of-date criteria, views, processes, much conservatism, routine ways and complacency still survive...." (supplying queried words)

On page D 14, paragraph four, line four, make read: "... of millions of peace-loving people throughout the world." (supplying indistinct word)

On page D 15, paragraph five, line five, make read: "...firmly step forward in further common work for the fulfillment..." (supplying queried words)

NATIONAL FRONT ELECTIONS HELD; RESULTS REPORTED

Husak, Strougal Vote

LD052328 Prague CTK in English 1728 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Prague, 5 Jun (CTK)--Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak cast his vote for National Front candidates on Friday.

He was warmly greeted by citizens as he entered the polling station at Prague Castle. He exercised his civil right just as millions of Czechoslovak citizens are doing, in the interest of happy prospects of Socialist Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium member and Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal was also cordially greeted as he cast his vote for National Front candidates on Friday.

Figures on Voter Turnout

LD071924 Prague CTK in English 1613 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] Prague, 7 Jun (CETEKA)--A total of 10,725,609 voters, i.e. 99.96 per cent of the total number of valid votes cast, voted in favour of National Front candidates for seats in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly's House of the People, according to a report of the central election commission on the results of the June 5-6 general elections.

At its session on Sunday, presided over by its chairman and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jindrich Polednik, the commission stated that 7,359,909 voters in the Czech Socialist Republic i.e. 99.95 per cent of votes cast, voted for candidates to seats in the House of the People, and in the Slovak Socialist Republic 3,365,700 voters, i.e. 99.97 per cent of votes cast, voted for candidates to seats in the House of the People.

A total of 10,725,895 voters (99.96 per cent of votes cast) voted for candidates to the House of Nations, of which 7,360,087 (99.95 per cent) in the Czech Socialist Republic and 3,365,808 (99.97 per cent) in the Slovak Socialist Republic; 200 candidates were elected to the House of the People and 150 candidates to the House of Nations.

The report stated that altogether 10,789,574 voters were registered and the turnout was 10,736,312 voters, i.e. 99.51 per cent.

A total of 7,327,157 voters (99.39 per cent) of the registered 7,372,132 voters took part in the election of candidates to seats in the Czech National Council; 7,319,472 voters (99.96 per cent) voted for candidates to the Czech National Council.

In Slovakia, of 3,376,672 voters registered for elections to the Slovak National Council, 3,368,386 voters (99.75 per cent) cast their vote; 3,366,295 voters (99.98 per cent) voted for candidates to the Slovak National Council; 200 candidates were elected to the Czech National Council and 150 candidates to the Slovak Council.

The report further said that of the 10,748,804 voters registered for elections to regional national committees all over Czechoslovakia, the national committees of Prague and Bratislava, 10,695,543 (99.50 per cent) went to the polls, and 10,686,107 voters (99.97 per cent) voted for candidates to the national committees; 1,614 candidates were elected as deputies of the national committees throughout Czechoslovakia, the national committees of Prague and Bratislava.

Of the 10,748,804 voters registered for elections to the district national committees, the city national committees in Brno, Ostrava, Plzen and Kosice and the district national committees in Prague and Bratislava, 10,695,543 (99.50 per cent) went to the polls, and 10,684,350 voters (99.96 per cent) voted for National Front candidates. Altogether 12,667 candidates were elected deputies of the district national committees.

Of the 9,740,560 voters registered for elections of candidates to local and municipal national committees, including district national committees in Brno, Ostrava, Plzen and Kosice, 9,698,056 (99.56 per cent) went to the polls, and 9,657,171 voters (99.69 per cent) voted for National Front candidates; 182,188 deputies of these national committees were elected.

The central election commission's report said that all National Front candidates for deputies of national committees of all levels, except one candidate for the municipal national committee, were elected.

In the elections, the Czechoslovak people again expressed their agreement with the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the National Front, and support for the program of the 16th party congress, for friendship and alliance with the USSR, and for Czechoslavakia's adherence to the socialist community. The results of the elections are a manifestation of the will and joint determination of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the National Front and the working people to do their best for further building of an advanced socialist society, for the prosperity of the Czech Socialist Republic.

ADN REPORTS MOCZULSKI'S RELEASE IN WARSAW, QUOTES TASS

LD051946 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] The release from prison of the Moczulski, the leader of the counterrevolutionary "Confederation of Independent Poland" has been announced in Warsaw. This is reported by the Soviet news agency TASS under the heading: A Further Concession to the Counter-revolution. The Warsaw court also decided to release another four leaders of the organization. The public prosecutor general's office has lodged an appeal against this decision, and the matter will be decided by the Supreme Court. The action program of the confederation provides for the liquidation by force of the constitutional system of the Polish People's Republic, the weakening of its defense capability and the dissolution of its alliance with the socialist countries. The counterrevolutionary organization has been financed by foreign secret services engaged in subversive activities against Poland and its allies. Moczulski and his accomplices were arrested on charges of crimes directed against the fundamental interests of the People's Republic.

WILLI STOPH SENDS CONDOLENCES ON POLISH RAIL CRASH

LD052250 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1545 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Berlin, 5 Jun (ADN)--Chairman of the GDR State Council Willi Stoph has sent a telegram of condolences to chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish Peoples Republic Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, on the tragic rail disaster at Pilawa.

HONECKER TALKS WITH ROMANIAN DEFENSE MINISTER OLTEANU

LD052250 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1447 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Berlin, 5 Jun (ADN)--The course set by the 10th SED Congress for the good of the people and for safeguarding peace has met with a great response among GDR working people and soldiers. This is made manifest by the millions of initiatives and achievements to strengthen the GDR and its defense capacity. This was stated by Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairmen of the GDR State Council in a talk with the Romanian minister of defense, Major Gen Constantin Olteanu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee. Constantin Olteanu, who heads a Romanian military delegation visiting the GDR, was received by Honecker in Berlin today.

In the course of the friendly meeting Erich Honecker also referred to the activities of reactionary imperialist circles to torpedo international detente against the wishes of peace-loving peoples. The latest attempts of the United States and the FRG to change the approximate military parity in favor of the imperialist war pact by an unbridled arms drive and by raising the readiness for aggression of the NATO troops at a forced pace, has given GDR citizens cause to ensure a high degree of military and defense preparedness at all times in firm alliance with the USSR and other fraternal countries.

In view of the aggravated international situation, the GDR working people consider it their internationalist duty to vigorously support the 26th CPSU Congress peace program and to play an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, social progress, detente and disarmament, Erich Honecker declared.

He paid tribute to the all-round development of the friendly relations between the GDR and Romania, and voiced his conviction that the visit of the Romanian military delegation would contribute to the further strengthening of the cooperation of the two parties, states and armies.

In recognition of his extraordinary services to the deepening of class brotherhood and arms between Romania and the GDR, Erich Honecker conferred the Scharnhorst Order on Major General Olteanu. The meeting, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by GDR defense minister, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, SED Central Committee Politburo member; the Romanian ambassador, Gheorghe Tache; and other officials.

Delegation 5 Jun Departure

LD052242 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1541 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Berlin, 5 Jan (ADN)--The Romanian military delegation led by Maj Gen Constantin Olteanu, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and minister of national defense, ended its 5-day official visit to the GDR on Friday and left for home. Minister Olteanu and his party were seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport with military ceremonial.

Earlier, Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, had received the visitors for a farewell call. The defense minister assessed the official visit as an important event for the further development of the fraternal relations between the armed forces of the two countries. For their services to the strengthening of the brotherhood of class and arms, the generals and officers of the delegation were awarded the order "For Services to People and Fatherland" by Heinz Hoffmann.

JOINT GDR-MEXICO COMMISSION MEETING ENDS

LD052210 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1509 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Berlin, 5 Jun (ADN)--The meeting of the joint GDR-Mexico Government commission ended in Berlin with the signing of an agreed record. The document was signed by Dr Gerhard Beil, state secretary in the GDR Foreign Trade Ministry, and the Mexican minister of communications and transport, Dr Emilio Mojica.

The 4-day meeting took place in a constructive and cordial atmosphere. Both sides paid tribute to the progress already achieved in their economic cooperation and agreed on measures for the further development of their relations, especially in trade and industrial cooperation. Common interest was also expressed in the development of cooperation in agriculture.

Both sides expressed the determination of their governments to support new forms of cooperation in the industrial and scientific-technical spheres on the basis of equality.

Minister Dr Emilio Mujica also had a meeting with GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN BERLIN ON MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM

AU050955 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jun 81 p 6

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--"With their fraternal solidarity the GDR people are firmly at the side of the Palestinian people struggling to implement their legitimate national rights." This was stated by 'Isam Kamil Salim, head of the PLO mission in the GDR capital in an ADN interview, on the occasion of the week of solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab people. The Palestinian people are proud of their militant relations with the GDR and the SED, which "are a model as regards relations with national liberation movements," he said.

The head of the PLO mission stressed the necessity of solving the Palestine problem and mentioned in this connection the support, announced by the Palestinian National Council at its recent meeting in Damascus, for the concrete proposals for a permanent and just solution for the Middle East, which had been submitted by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress.

GERA CATHOLICS FOR NATIONAL FRONT ELECTION APPEAL

AU050958 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jun 81 p 6

[Summary] Gera (ADN)--On Wednesday at an exchange of ideas, hosted by the Christian circles working group at the Gera Bezirk committee of the National Front, Otto Hartmut Fuchs, chairman of the presidium of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics, said that everyone who wants to support coexistence in the tested alliance of the GDR National Front should elect the candidates of the National Front on 14 June. Fuchs said: "In our country the political and moral unity of our citizens, irrespective of different ideologies and religious denominations, is, above all, proved by determinedly realizing the common responsibility for peace, security and detente.

HAGER, MIELKE, MUECKENBERGER SPEAK AT ELECTION FORUMS

LD050140 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1911 GMT 4 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Berlin, 4 Jun (ADN)--Leading GDR personalities who are candidates in the People's Chamber elections to be held on 14 June met the electorate from various sections of the population on Thursday. Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, spoke to naval personnel at Stralsund. Kurt Hager told the sailors: "To secure peace and the socialist achievements so as not to give the politicians of aggression and the blitzkrieg strategists a single chance of military success is the great task to which you soldiers of socialism have pledged yourselves." He added: "Every single fighter, every single fighting collective is called upon to give a liter of sweat in peace rather than a drop of blood in war." As long as imperialism exists, the primary human right, the right to life, is in danger, the speaker said, and called on the members of the military to defend the peaceful life of the citizens of the GDR and of all the states of the socialist community, side by side with their brothers in arms, against all attacks by the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction.

Erich Mielke, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for state security, had talks in Zeitz with the working people at the Zemaq Zeitz heavy engineering iron foundry and machine factory. Addressing a meeting of 1,000 working people, Erich Mielke said among other things: "To be able to live and work in peace is the fundamental condition which enables us to accomplish everything that we have set ourselves to do in the coming years. That is why many citizens have declared their readiness, precisely in the course of the election preparations, to make an even greater contribution by their high performance to the strengthening of socialism and thus to the preservation and consolidation of peace."

In view of the increasingly tense international situation, high class vigilance and internal security are of maximum significance. "The all-round strengthening and reliable securing of the worker and peasant might is and remains a key question for our future advance, for the maintenance and gradual improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people. The parties and mass organizations, especially our trade unions, united in the national front and in the democratic bloc, represent a great force. In future it will be even more important to mobilize this force even further."

The inhabitants of Damen on Thursday night welcomed Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. In his address Erich Mueckenberger pointed to the position of the GDR as a factor of peace in the world. In this context, he said: "Our socialist GDR has won increasing respect. We can say with satisfaction that it is today among the 10 leading industrialized states in the world. During Erich Honecker's visit to Japan it became quite clear that it is respected as an all-round stable state with whom it pays to maintain friendly relations." In view of the acute conditions of the international class struggle and the imperialist confrontation course, the important thing is to strengthen the common potential of real socialism by effectively mustering our forces in socialist economic integration.

MSZMP DELEGATION PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT TO POLAND

LD061802 Budapest MTI in English 1029 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] Budapest, 5 Jun (MTI)--At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), a party workers delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party under Tibor Baranyai, member of the central supervisory committee, head of the CC Party and Mass Organizations Department was staying from 3 to 5 June in Warsaw. They conducted talks with Tadeusz Baryk, leader of the party CC Organization Department. The hosts informed the delegation about the situation of the party, the preparations for the 9th extraordinary congress of the PUWP and the experiences gained so far in this context. In an open, comradely spirit opinions were exchanged on topical question of cooperation between the two parties.

The Hungarian delegation was also received by Zdzislaw Kurowski, secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

RECENT POLISH DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED, CRITICIZED

Rakowski: 'Limit Reached'

LD072334 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] The limit of sensible compromise has been reached in Poland. This was stated at a Bydgoszcz party conference by Deputy Premier Rakowski. Our Warsaw correspondent Szabolcs Szilagyi reports on his speech:

I represent the government which is being faced by constant attacks. This was said by Deputy Premier Rakowski at a Bydgoszcz party conference to which party members of the region had been invited. He recalled that the party leadership had been pursuing the policy of consensus since September 1980 and that it was still considering it to be of binding validity, even though this principle had to be put into practice under unusually difficult conditions. Today, the policy of agreement is in danger and is confronted by heavy blows, he said. He stressed that there are forces in the country which regard readiness for agreement, dialogue and compromise as encouragement for their activities. By this they are weakening the state leadership so that the PZPR might be turned into a pawn of its opponents without a will of its own.

Rakowski stated that there are many opponents of this kind in the various political and social organizations. He pointed out that party members, too, without being aware of it, were on many occasions taking part in the weakening of the policy of consensus. These are those who did not understand the international system of conditions of Polish statehood and who had attained a liking for the total condemnation of the past and the present.

Speaking about Solidarity, Rakowski said that it would be an error to make generalizations because there are examples of good cooperation between trade union and party organizations and economic managers in certain regions. These men are united by a common objective: They want to do their best to move Poland out of the economic and political crisis. However, there are also forces and tendencies within Solidarity which consider their task to be that of waging a struggle against people's power and the PZPR.

The ideologists of Solidarity say that their organization is not merely a trade union but rather a social movement. It is written in the Solidarity theses that this is the only social movement that can guarantee renewal in the country.

The deputy premier recalled that Solidarity had recognized the leading role of the PZPR in the state. He then asked: Is it possible that this recognition is expressed in constant attacks on the PZPR?

In other words, what can trade union activity have to do with the brutal attempt whereby the various Solidarity organizations are trying to decide who should be the leader of a voivodship, a director or the chairman of a village council?

Rakowski stated that the limit of sensible compromise provided by people's power and the PZPR had been reached. He stressed that there are days and weeks ahead during which every party member must decide which side he wants to take.

Katowice 'Attacks' Party Unity

LD061646 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] There is about 1 month left until the extraordinary PZPR Congress. The preparations have brought many new problems to the surface; tension is increasing further. It seems that the appearance of the Katowice Party Forum, the raising of the possibility of a revisionist coup within the party, have divided opinions, further polarizing the forces in Poland. According to indications, decisive events may occur next week; the Sejm will hold a session, and the ultimatum issued by Solidarity will run out. I have asked our Warsaw correspondent, Szabolcs Szilagyi, to give us a report on the situation. Szabolcs, I hope you are on the line.

[Szilagyi] Yes, here I am.

[Question] According to your hunch and your experiences, is there any sign which indicates how events are going to develop next week?

[Answer] As the listeners also know, I think, the preparations for the Polish party congress have reached that last and very important phase in which the voivodship party conferences are taking place. Five or six of these have already taken place. They are certainly not all presenting the same picture. There is no sign of unity in the Polish party, at least not that I can see.

[Question] Is political life going on today, on a workfree Saturday, as well?

[Answer] There are reports of events taking place this weekend almost every few minutes on my telex. Perhaps the most important is the communique issued by the Karl Marx debating circle on the four documents which have so far been issued by the Katowice Party Forum. Members of this debating circle stated among other things that they are not taking into consideration the great many statements issued condemning the Katowice Forum which were issued by various party forums. They say that these views do not influence them in the least.

[Question] Not even the fact that the party Politburo also condemned the Katowice Forum?

[Answer] Not even that because they stress that they wish to analyze the text and content of the Katowice declaration without taking into consideration the views of any forum, basing their judgment entirely on the scientific basis of Marxism. The members of the Karl Marx circle, it is groups like these who are behind the Katowice Forum. They say that the Katowice Forum reflects the opinions of the relatively narrow group which feels nostalgic about the earlier period and wishes to attain stabilization of the party and country on this basis.

[Question] There are also views according to which the Katowice documents met such strong social resistance and strong opposition within the party as well because the Marxist analysis of the causes of the Polish crisis has still not been given, and this is something that is perfectly true. However, in front of me is today's issue of the journal POLYTIKA, the party weekly, in which one of the authors, Jerzy Urban, writes that he wishes that all the PZPR opponents were like the authors of the Katowice document.

Well, according to this and also according to recent events, the views and forces in Poland are increasingly polarized. Under these circumstances, in your opinion, will the party congress be able to meet?

[Answer] I heard the opinion of a very responsible source stating that the Polish party congress will not be able to meet in session if during the next 40 days a split within the party takes place. Unfortunately I can say that there are signs indicating that this might happen; a moment ago we were discussing the Katowice document, the Katowice declaration, and many people in Poland consider that this document attacks party unity from the left. Others consider that party unity is under attack from the right as well. The Gdansk Voivodship party secretary, Tadeusz Fiszbach, was reelected. He is also a candidate member of the PZPR Politburo. According to Fiszbach, the events which took place during the past 9 months in Poland and inside the party are much less extensive than what, in his view, could be expected.

[Question] The debate is continuing. One last question: Are the events next week likely to influence the fate of the party congress?

[Answer] Perhaps they will once again find a solution, and perhaps it will not bring danger to the party.

'Passionate' Debate Topic

LD071120 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0610 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Report by Warsaw correspondent Szablocs Szilagyi]

[Text] The congress preparations have entered a new phase, that of the voivodship party meetings. At this level, as at the workplace, district and city meetings of the communists, the issue of party unity was at the center of attention. Most of the speakers expressed, with regard to this, their antipathy to the so-called Katowice declaration, saying that this statement, which accuses the present PZPR leadership of liberalism and of making concessions to the rightwing, undermines and breaks up internal unity.

The Politburo itself, at its Tuesday session, did not agree with this document. Stefan Olszowski, a Central Committee secretary, said to the country's leading journalists on Thursday that unity now is being attacked from two directions. Representatives of one of these trends call into doubt the legitimacy of the existing socialism. Representatives of the other trend, for example, participants in the Katowice Forum, accuse the congress draft program of deviation from Marxism and they consider the resolutions of the 10th plenum to be a compromise with revisionism. Olszowski stressed that the representatives of both trends are given a clear answer by the party, which supports judging the situation in a class-like manner. The PZPR is seeking a fruitful path for settling the crisis and restoring the economy, and the Poles are setting out to defend socialism on their own steam, said the Central Committee secretary. The content of the Katowice declaration is one of the most passionate topics of debate within the party, and although it has not ended, the Katowice Forum has suspended its activities.

There were several news items this week about scattered manifestations of social tension. In some districts certain groups held hunger strikes in support of political prisoners. Convicts in several prisons demanded amnesty, a reduction in their sentences and better work conditions. They refused to work and eat. According to a PAP report from a Silesian city, another Soviet memorial was desecrated in a military cemetery. On Friday the spokesman of the Warsaw Voivodship Court announced that the trial of Leszek Moczulski and his three companions, members of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland, will begin on 15 June. At the recommendation of the defense attorneys, the court freed the accused who previously had been arrested.

On Thursday and Friday, the Solidarity National Consultative Commission held its extraordinary session in Bydgoszcz, after the organization there decided that it will call for a 2-hour warning strike next Thursday, because of the delay in the investigation of the memorable Bydogoszcz incident on 19 March. The National Commission supported this decision with its resolution, despite the fact that representatives of the Catholic episcopate, referring to the country's serious situation, advised the Solidarity leaders to be cautious.

The Council of Ministers building in Warsaw will be the scene for new talks tomorrow regarding the Bydgoszcz conflict, an affair which has reemerged. A joint session will be held by the government commission dealing with trade union affairs and the Solidarity work group. Another important event of next week: The Polish parliament, the Sejm, is to convene on Tuesday. The first item on the agenda will be the premier's report on the country's situation and his proposals regarding organizational change in the Council of Ministers.

Antisocialist Confrontation

LD052004 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Disquieting reports are once again coming from Poland. Here is the latest news: In Bydgoszcz the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity held an extraordinary session and approved the decision of the regional leadership to hold a 2-hour warning strike in the voivodship next Thursday because the March Bydgoszcz affair has still not been explained. The Bishop of Gniezno called for caution at the Solidarity session; the adviser of the late Cardinal Wyszynski also warned against strikes. The Solidarity leadership announced at the end of the session that the strike action would be called off if the authorities reveal by June 10 who was responsible for the Bydgoszcz incident.

It is no exaggeration to say that the news coming from Warsaw and Bydgoszcz can fill every friend of the Polish people, of Socialist Poland, with concern. By now it is no longer just economic problems, difficulties with supplies, queues or increased state debts: Dangerous antisocialist tendencies are manifesting themselves behind the slogan of socialist renewal. A psychological war is developing against the party and the socialist state. Those who have started a guilty game with the interests of the Polish nation are attempting to wrest further and further concessions.

A new, absurd element of the situation is provided by the criminals who have begun protest actions, including a hunger strike, in 10 Polish prisons, demanding a general amnesty, the reduction of all sentences by a half or a third. The Polish Ministry of Justice has begun negotiations with them. Of course, this is merely a third-rate issue. There are far more important political events in Warsaw.

Yesterday the leaders of the PZPR and the Polish press held a discussion. We have received more detailed information on this meeting, according to which, the need for party unity was strongly emphasized. Stefan Olszowski said that the debate and the search for the correct path cannot lead to the party's transformation into one of a social democratic character. It was also said that only cooperation with the socialist countries can help Poland out of the crisis. Olszowski analyzed Western conduct in relation to the Polish situation and stated: Two tendencies can be observed. One of these is interested in stabilizing the Polish situation; the other would gladly start an adventurist action aimed at emboriling the Soviet Union in Polish problems. Olszowski stressed the need for decisive action against the spread of posters and proclamations attacking the Soviet Union, against those who deface Soviet monuments and against the harrassment of Soviet soldiers. Stanislaw Kania also delivered strong remarks in his closing speech at the meeting with the Polish press representatives. Loosening of social discipline is creating a situation, he said, in which the smallest incident could threaten an explosion. it is necessary to analyze the dangerous situation, the problems and worries, but it is obvious that as time passes it is becoming the ever more urgent task of the Polish adherents of socialism to answer with action the attacks of the antisocialist forces.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM SET FOR 9 JUNE

LD071915 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] PAP reported tonight that the Politburo of the party Central Committee has decided to convene the 11th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee on Tuesday, 9 June.

The meeting will deal with the current national situation and with the preparations for the ninth extraordinary party congress.

RAKOWSKI ATTENDS BYDGOSZCZ PARTY CONFERENCE

LD062352 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski spoke at the 6 June party municipal report-back and election conference in Bydgoszcz. He reported on the preparations for the talks with representatives of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity which will begin on Monday. The Bydgoszcz Conference is discussing the events of 19 March. The local Citizens' Militia also demand a full explanation. In an open letter presented to the conference delegates on 6 June, the Citizens' Militia functionaries state that they constitute part of the Polish nation and want to serve its interests. The Bydgoszcz party municipal conference will continue its session on 7 June.

Rakowski Bydgoszcz Speech

LD081009 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2205 GMT 7 Jun 81

["Extensive excerpts" of Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski's 7 June speech to the Bydgoszcz PZPR municipal report-back and electoral conference--read by announcer]

[Text] I shall speak of the Bydgoszcz events in the second part of my speech because I think that they and what followed them cannot be examined in isolation from the country's general economic and political situation. As a representative of the government, as a member of this government, I must therefore say a few words about the present stage of Poland's development, about what our greatest problems are at the moment, about which phenomena constitute a menace and which give grounds for optimism.

I want to start by recalling that since September 1980 the party leadership headed by Comrade Kania has been trying, in this unusually complicated situation, to implement a line of accord. Despite the fact that it is being implemented in extremely difficult conditions, despite various zigzags, this line is obligatory, and I consider it to be the only sensible one. This is a line for winning over the greatest possible number of people in Poland to the political program which was presented at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum. This line of accord, this line of dialogue, however, does not and cannot mean diktat, the diktat of one of the sides which are to participate in implementing the line of accord. The party and government leadership does not apply such diktat to any special or professional group. However, I want to say openly that at the present moment the line of accord is threatened. It is exposed to a different and powerful force. Its durability--I declare this with all seriousness--is uncertain. The line of accord can break down as a result of forces--let us call them decentralizing [odsrodkowa], radical or irresponsible forces--which the issues of Poland's independence and the preservation of state existence ought to relegate to a secondary position.

This line and its durability is uncertain today because, as I am most deeply convinced, there exist in the country forces which take our readiness for accord, and dialogue and sensible compromises as encouragement to activities leading to such weakening of the authorities that they become, as is evident, a passive plaything of resolute opponents of the PZPR. I emphasize: opponents of the PZPR.

Where are the opponents of our party, those who treat the line of accord as a manifestation of our weakness, a policy that opens a path to concessions leading to rotten compromises? Well, there are quite a few of them in various political and social organizations. I shall speak about them somewhat later. Members of the party often participate unconsciously in weakening and undermining the line of accord. They are people who have lost their way, who while perhaps acting with good intentions, do not understand the international conditions to which the Polish state is subject, who have come to revel in the all-embracing criticism of the past and present. They have been engaged in this criticism for many months. They direct their gaze constantly to the past and not to the future.

Because I deal with trade unions and because I proclaim the idea of partnership relations, or the creation of a partnership setup in Poland, please let me devote a few words to my partners in Solidarity. It would be a great error to generalize about Solidarity. It is necessary to detect currents and tendencies of various sorts occurring within Solidarity. I know regions of Poland and (?large) work enterprises where good or even very good harmonious cooperation already exists or is beginning to form between various links of Solidarity, the plant party committee or party organization, management, Industrial Branch Trade Unions and all other organizations active in the region or its factories.

More can be said: These people are united by one objective, that is, to do the maximum good to pull Poland out of the economic and political crisis in which it has found itself. In brief, they work every day, in the spirit of partnership to overcome the obstacles and difficulties which have emerged along the path of socialist construction.

But there also exists--and I am stating this with full responsibility--forces or trends in Solidarity which set themselves the target of fighting against the people's rule, fighting against the PZPR. I think that we must become aware of this fact and keep it in mind.

I do not want to live to see the moment when my cobelievers, that is, party members, comrades, and fellow comrades, might reach the conclusion that the representatives of this trend, should they come to power, would make a distinction between good and bad communists, between liberals and hardliners, between clever and stupid ones. No, comrades. At a time of a sharp political struggle and a strictly defined objective there is no such differentation and there will be none.

Every day the representatives of the above-mentioned trend in Solidarity go beyond their statutory duties. There are scores and hundreds of proofs of this. I shall adduce only a few. The Solidarity ideologists employ a formula according to which the union is not a pure union movement, but a social movement. Moreover, the programmatic theses of Solidarity say that it is the only social movement that can guarantee national renewal. I think that our party, and also you in the hall, should prove that this thesis is incorrect.

But is it merely a social movement? Today, after 10 months, are we dealing just with young and not so young men who are only learning the school of political thinking? For this is how they are most often presented by my colleagues, by journalists: that this is a young movement, that they must learn and that consequently much must be forgiven them. In short, they must be caressed. They would like caresses on a national scale. They would also like to be caressed from abroad, while the Soviet Union, all our friends, (?watch with horror the) continuing disintegration of the political and economic situation in Poland.

I think that in politics there is no room for caresses; in politics one must make things perfectly clear. I would like to make things clear. The term social movement does not fit a certain trend operating within Solidarity, a trend which asserts itself more and more, whose element is politics, and whose everyday action consists in attack on authority. What are the signs of activity by representatives of this trend? I will cite examples taken from everyday practice; I think that these will authorize me to formulate an assessment. No one can deprive me of this right.

One Solidarity adviser, a well-known sociologist, stated: Every revolution in history has two stages. The first is seizure of the symbols of central authority, often by a small group of people. For example, the Bastille was captured by 800 people. The second, more important stage is taking over functions which are not being performed by a paralyzed state. One would like to ask, [paralyzed] by whom?--this is my remark, Rakowski's--by their own actions. In our case the breakdown of the state preceded the August explosion of the society. For 7 months the state was unable to control the deepening crisis. Of course, among other things, this was a result of a wave of great strikes. But let us continue. It is our duty, said the lady sociologist, to take over authority in enterprises and regions. We are not interested in symbolic gestures at the central level. Let them continue to hold office and imagine that they govern.

Since she is not interested in the central level, then I suppose that she is interested in taking that power from you, comrades, and to hand it over to whom? The question arises, to whom? In any case, I find it difficult to believe that such objectives have anything in common with the operation of a trade union.

In another part of her argument she states: Let us nationalize the means of production by taking over power in an enterprise. Let us remove old structures by ignoring them. This text should have appeared in Solidarity's weekly in a prominent page so that people could see that Poland and the PZPR are not in an idyllic place, and that on the banks of the Vistula a fierce political struggle is in progress whose stakes are not hidden. Almost everything is open.

I have quoted only one statement, but there are many such statements, particularly in those bulletins and papers which allegedly have a purely union character. There one can find an abundance of fierce attacks against the PZPR. You might say that those are irresponsible people, but this is not a strong enough description. I would like to recall that Solidarity recognized the PZPR's leading role in the Polish state. Is recognition to be expressed by constant attacks against the party?

Let us continue. Please tell me what stopping the dispatch of export goods has in common with union activity. Our exports are the result of international trade undertakings, and hampering the realization of such undertakings is not the task of trade unions. And what is the meaning of forced entry into food warehouses and demands for the right to control the warehouses? Who is to guard the warehouses, Solidarity? Who has a right to dispose of goods? Does the union statute give such a right? And others are ordinary usurpers? And who is going to explain to me what union activity has in common with constant storming of party buildings? Does the spirit of partnership suggest such actions? And what is the meaning of brutal attempts by individual Solidarity links to determine who is going to be a voivoda, director or parish executive officer?

And what is the meaning of the 9-months long campaign of more and more new demands and accusations addressed to the authorities? This is a constant campaign.

Consider the statement by Plock region's Solidarity that the shortage of cigarettes is an accurate blow aimed against the Polish community by the authorities in order to create hotbeds of tension in various regions of the country. This is an accusation that the authorities, whom I too represent, have consciously hidden cigarettes in order to bring the Polish people to its knees. What is behind the accusation? Is it just simple ignorance and ordinary political imbecility, or perhaps something more? I will not allow myself to ask this question.

The campaign to discredit authority can be successfully opposed by the government if it has the active support of party members.

Tell me, comrades. Is this how the line of agreement, dialogue and partnership should look? Please answer me: Who should be the ruling force in Poland?

I think that everyone who carries a party card in his pocket and the ideals of socialism in his heart must also ask this kind of question: What am I aiming at? Well, I am aiming at formulating the following thesis, with full emphasis on and responsibility for every word: In Poland the question of power is on the daily agenda--not the power of Kania or the power of Jaruzelski, or mine, but the power of the people. This power is in danger, and because of this the existence of Poland as a state is threatened. Whoever considers this fact lightly in the coming days and weeks will give himself a poor mark and will be given a poor mark by history.

Such is the situation. In connection with this I wish to say that the limits of reasonable compromise applied by the people's power and the PZPR in the hope that such compromise would be understood as a willingness to establish partnerlike relations have been totally exhausted. There is nothing left there. One must be aware of this, and irrespective of what your personal opinion is on this subject, I shall insist on this thesis. I am of the opinion that days and weeks are coming when each member of the party will have to decide on whose side he is to stand. Is he to stand on the side of those who do not consider lightly the dangers which have arisen, or is he to stand on the side of those who are systematically--as if this had become a habit with them--are attacking this power and will continue to attack it? Because I wish to avoid unjustified accusations that I am putting Solidarity in the same bag as the others and treat it as a political enemy, I state once again that I treat as an enemy that political stream in Solidarity which constantly attacks the foundations of our system and which a long time ago crossed the barrier which separates trade unions from a political movement or political party.

So much for the political situation in our country. Against this background I would like to make a statement about what happened in Bydgoszcz on 19 March of this year. Perhaps I shall also repeat myself in what I am going to say, but sometimes it is necessary to repeat oneself in order for what one has to say to reach the awareness of those whom it should reach.

This dramatic event occurred in a period of deep political crisis which last for months, in a period characterized by great emotions and lack of confidence in the people's power. This happened following the occupation of the state-owned building in Nowy Sacz and in Ustrzyki and in the situation when the occupation of a building on Dworcowa Street was continuing here in Bydgoszcz. I represent the view that if such an event had not occurred in Bydgoszcz, then objectively considered it could have happened in any other place in Poland, perhaps for other reasons. This could have happened because in times of such great transformations of values and such a deep, the deepest, crisis in the history of socialism in Poland, unexpected situations occur which sometimes cannot be prevented.

I said this once in the Sejm and I am repeating it here: Often in the history of the nation even tragic events later have a successful development for some social class or for the whole nation. This is how I treat events in Bydgoszcz. All in all, their results are positive. All matters of the rule of law became more urgent. In the mass media and at thousands of meetings a debate began on what to do so that the rule of law would not be infringed upon by anyone. A critical examination of many bills began. A special commission for observing the rule of law was created. All in all, we have moved a step forward, a significant step in this very important field of each citizen--the sphere of the rule of law.

I also know that you comrades are demanding that the Bydgoszcz events be explained to the very end. A question is posed, however: What is to be this end? I would like to ask the question: Did the government adopt a negative attitude to the events in Bydgoszcz? Did the government leadership, and essentially the party leadership too, assume from the very start a view that everything was all right and that we should turn our backs on anyone who thinks otherwise? This was not so. This is not obliterated by the statements which change as days and weeks go by, as new facts and opinions are gathered.

The government adopted an unambigious attitude to the events in Bydgoszcz. The premier expressed from the Sejm rostrum his regret over these events.

Anyone who understands anything about politics will know that in such a statement of regret there is also contained an admission that this was an error, or that errors were made during the action, or that this action was not necessary or too hasty. Other steps were also taken. Two deputy voivodas were dismissed. And in the Warsaw agreement the security of the union and its members was guaranteed.

This last matter, as we were told during the talks in Warsaw, was one of the main reasons for calling the warning and general strikes. I stress, this was the matter of guarantees and safety for Solidarity, for the trade union members, ceremoniously entered in the agreement signed by the deputy premier of the government of the People's Republic of Poland. I ask: Is that not enough?

But this is not all. We have been told all the time that the activities of Rulewski and his colleagues, their appearance at the session of the WRN [Voivodship People's Council] resulted from the struggle they fought for the recognition of Rural Solidarity. They were not able to live without this Rural Solidarity. Well, let us assume they were not able to live without it. You can say, of course, that it was a bad thing that for some months this issue was not resolved and that such an action of Rulewski and his colleagues had to take place. Perhaps. But then please take into consideration the fact that we live in times in which the old structures are breaking down and new ones are being created and in which various resistances and habits exist as well as fears which arise from differently understood reasons of state and political reasons. All right. But even if one does not want to acknowledge it, if someone thinks that the process of democratization can be implemented like some technological process, planned in advance and defined by technical parameters, then I would like to say that the Warsaw agreement and what happened later in April ought to have completely satisfied fighters of Rulewski's kind who, by the way, spent longer in the hospital than John Paul II, although the pope was really very seriously injured. But it appears that Mr Rulewski is in poor health. Anyway, I want to say that the aim has been achieved. Rural Solidarity has been recognized. I can even say that I have some problems on this account, for there are quite a few people in Rural Solidarity who do not at all hide the fact that they also represent the stream aiming at breaking up the structures on which people's power is based.

But never mind. It will be necessary to fight those who are dreaming about a Poland without socialism. In any case, the goal which took Mr Rulewski and his colleagues to the WRN hall has been fulfilled, the goal which made it necessary for him to call, while on his way there, upon the work enterprises to come to the WRN. It is strange that all these elements of action on the part of the Bydgoszcz MKZ [Interfactory Founding Committee] somehow escape the attention of many comrades who are concentrating exclusively on the government side. It would be interesting to know why. Maybe we could also put some of the responsibility for what happened there and then onto the Bydgoszcz MKZ.

Personally, I hope for at least some support for the thesis that the other side was not without guilt. Why do none of you give me this support? Why do none of you say publicly that Mr Rulewski is a classic demagogue, that he invited 15,000 people to the WRN, that he resisted, and, that he humiliated the deputy voivodas and Major Bednarek? For what reason did he do that?

Why should I be the only one to scatter ashes over my head? And you comrades, are you not members of the ruling party? Is your role confined to the criticism of power? For God's sake, is this what cooperation and coexistence within one state and in one party should look like? No, comrades. Such democracy is not possible in any party. This is not the way, not along this path and not with this kind of attitude. Not along this way and not with such one-sided and [word indistinct] attitudes.

Has anyone asked who ordered the beating? Nobody ordered the beating. Unfortunately, it could have so happened because human passions are stronger than regulations. It is necessary and possible to evaluate this event critically. One could say that this was a disaster. All right. We must agree with such an evaluation.

But it is impossible to regard this event as requiring the whole nation to rise, as requiring a general strike which had to open--as admitted by Lis in SZTANDAR MLODYCH--the road to the overthrow of authority.

When I was returning from Bydgoszcz the day before yesterday I heard on the radio a journalist's report on the meeting of the KKP [Solidarity National Consultation Commission]. He said--I have made a mental note of this idiotic sentence--that the government had so far done nothing regarding the implementation of the agreement. How can one be so dishonest? How can one tell such lies to the public and contribute to the further exacerbation of the state of tension?

The question as to who is responsible is being constantly repeated. Today I have to supply the answer to you. In fact it is I who am responsible, Wojciech Jaruzelski is responsible, the government is responsible, because it is we who have to bear the responsibility for the course of the Bydgoszcz events. We must bear it because the government is responsible for its entire administration. As I am answering the questions which are perturbing you, another question can now be put. What is to be done with us, since that is the issue for those in Solidarity who pose the question of responsibility.

They want a political trial against authority [wladza]. They want this trial to be conducted before the eyes of all of Poland so as to continue to erode the foundation of this not very strong authority in which many of you participate. Authority consists not only of the government, the party leadership or the premier, myself, other deputy premiers and ministers. It comprises you too. One could say more. A trial against authority for which they strive would be a trial against the PZPR and not against Major Bednarek or the two deputy voivodas who were subjected to psychological bullying.

This would not be a trial against them, but a trial against the party and its position. And this is the point of the whole campaign which is being developed by Mr Rulewski and his visible and invisible friends. The point is to harass the authority, to weaken it so that it is brought to its kneees. This is the fundamental aim of the continuous return to the Bydgoszcz events, even though we have proposed at least 10 times: Let us close this unfortunate chapter. We shall return to it anyway, in the disciplinary proceedings against the people who infringed the rules of the regulations in power; we shall return from a historical point of view; we shall return to this when there is calm in Poland.

The reply is different: No, one must go ahe'. One must finish off this power. It is necessary to throw this power onto its knees. Let it show its impotence. This is the aim of this campaign. This is the aim of involving the working class in the strikes again. This is happening in conditions when we can hardly breathe, when Poland no longer receives help from anywhere, when impatience is increasing in the socialist countries; in the situation when both in the East and in the West there are voices saying: We shall not keep these idlers: Let them work; they shall not live at our expense.

I have said who is guilty. You may judge for yourselves what ought to be done with the guilty ones. But I want to state categorically: If someone wishes to expose our national existence to danger and is aiming at questioning the chances of implementation of renewal, then please, let such a person continue. Let us keep on pushing. It is not my skin that is at stake or anybody else's from the leadership of the government or the party. The issue at stake is the future of the country. Whoever wants to weaken our power, let them remember that they are taking upon themselves a historic responsibility for what happens to our country, our nation, which lies between the rivers Bug and Odra and Nysa Luzycka, in the borders which for 36 years have been guaranteed by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact.

We are, comrades, approaching a very difficult borderline and it is not strikes that we need or demonstrations of the type of political trials against the deputy voivodas. Enough of that.

History would accuse us of political stupidity if we went in this direction. The issue here is not the hiding of the guilty parties. It is no problem to admit that I am responsible, I can make even a decision about it, even though I did not actually make a decision in this matter. I could have made such a decision on the basis of what was going on in the country or on the basis of information I had at my disposal and even then I would have been forgiven by history, because this was no crime. This was a political error and such errors do happen. If only such errors, and not others, happened in the history of the nation.

I am surprised by many comrades, my fellow comrades, that they have so committed themselves to the emotional treatment of this case from a moral standpoint, when we are dealing with clear politics. And the politics are crystal clear. We are dealing with a realistic set of political forces in Poland and this realistic set of forces must be taken into consideration.

If we leave, then someone else will also have to take this fact into consideration. If, for instance, a government was formed out of you, here, ad hoc, then you would also face the same problems, the problems faced by us.

You will have to answer to yourselves everyday questions: What is most important for our country? And please do not misunderstand me. I do not want to protect or defend or shield anyone because there is no need for this, as everything lies on the surface. This is not the issue, nor is retaining positions an issue because, comrades, these are not comfortable or safe positions. This is a volcano. if you sit on it, it is necessary to wear asbestos trousers, as without them you would be burned immediately. We are not interested in keeping these positions. But we are communists. My generation has developed a sense of responsibility for the country. It possesses it because it paid a heavy price for the survival of the occupation period and the first difficult postwar years.

I would like to repeat yet again: The issue is not whether Major Bednarek has carried out his duty or not. It is not small issues that matter here, such as the fact of three union activisits being beaten up. As I have stressed on several occasions, we regard this as a fact to be deplored. The issue is that people are playing here with the highest card, the good of Poland and its peaceful future.

So long as my strength permits, I will oppose adventurism. And the continued reheating of the Bydgoszcz affair is adventurism. I have already mentioned that the limit of sensible compromise on our part has by now been exhausted. The limit of our allies' patience is being exhausted, too. The enemies of socialism have opened yet another phase of tension. They have occupied themselves with the Soviet Union. Anti-Sovietism is manifesting itself not merely in the tearing down of red stars from the graves of Soviet soldiers. For instance, it is visible in various factory newssheets. Many of them have for months been vociferating against the Soviet Union. Their editors take liberties with stupid cartoons, scoffing at a country which guarantees our borders, scoffing at a country which has been disinterestedly helping us in the last few months.

Do not remain indifferent vis-a-vis these antinational activities. Silence on these matters is mothing to be proud of, rather something to be ashamed of. Of course, you may say that Rakowski came and explained nothing, because presumably you have been expecting me to bring in my teeth those two deputy voivodas, maybe some minister, maybe someone else. Maybe I should have come with a verdict against someone. I have arrived with nothing of the kind. Nor did I intend to.

On the other hand, I intended to come, and this was on my own initiative, in order to present to you, my fellow comrades, my viewpoint.

I have presented this viewpoint. I think that although I have not come bearing a sacrifice between my teeth, I have presented in a fairly clear manner the political situation of the country, the situation of the PZPR and our situation in Europe and the world.

In the near future Poland may become a hotbed of unrest whose significance will spread beyond its borders. Does it have to be like this? I do not think so. I still believe that there is a chance for implementing the line of accord, although it is decreasing. I believe that it will be possible to obtain a partnership like cooperation with the other side; with people of Lech Walesa's sort and with those who support him. With people who assess the situation in Poland realistically, who are of the opinion that no more strikes should take place and no more disquiet created. I count on the support of these people in my very difficult work. I also believe, comrades, in my nation, in its wisdom, in its attachment to the 36 years of peace in Europe and in Poland, in the nation's attachment to historic borders, in attachment to those values which, despite all the errors of the PPR [Polish Workers Party] and later the PZPR, have been implemented in Poland.

I recently heard a statement by one of Solidarity's activists who said that only prisons and headquarters of Citizens' Militia were built in the Poland of the 1970's. One can say such silly things, but they have nothing in common with reality. It is enough to take a look at our country to see that it is not covered with prisons. Perhaps one ought to stop and think--I return to the thought I expressed at the outset--about who leads the people who make such statements. Despite all failures in the building of the Warsaw (?agreement) I believe in the commonsense of my fellow countrymen, and I want to believe that the line of accord, whose positive and consistent advocate Stanislaw Kania is, can be maintained. It can be maintained, esteemed comrades, only if you take a realistic, unemotional look at all these events and also at the Bydgoszcz events, if you do not allow them to be continually brought up, because, please believe me, the events in Bydgoszcz were important but not so important as to define the fate of the nation in the coming months and years.

Bydgoszcz Militia Denies Guilt

LD061412 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] The second part of the municipal report-back and election party conference began at POP [Primary Party Organization] in Bydgoszcz today.

Rising to speak during the discussion, Maciej Zygarowski, a delegate of the party organization in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Citizens' Militia headquarters presented an open letter from the Bydgoszcz militiamen to the conference delegates. Here are excerpts from this letter:

We express satisfaction over the fact that the municipal party conference has expressed its disquiet over the possible increase in social tension in the near future--tension which is connected with the events at the headquarters of the voivodship People's Council on 19 March this year.

The law applies equally to everyone. So we can expect and demand that the political and administrative authorities should not treat our organs as being exclusively instruments for their own purposes which are not always respectable and which are sometimes downright socially damaging. Meanwhile, in the light of facts of which we are aware [words indistinct], we consider that the sources of the events on 19 March lie beyond the leadership of the voivodship Citizens' Militia headquarters. We are a part of the Polish people and we wish to serve exclusively the interests of this people. We wish to serve the party which is leading the people in the construction of a socialist system but we do not wish to serve persons or groups which are governing in the party on behalf of the party or in support of the party.

Similarly we do not wish to serve persons and groups in various bodies of the authorities if they usurp for themselves the powers of these bodies. It is with regret that we have to state that not everyone in Poland has understood what happened in August 1980. A horrifying example are the authors of the declaration of the Katowice Party Forum who are taking up the defense of the militia and the security service.

We do not need such defenders who on behalf of their own group interests have on more than occasion used the militia [word indistinct] for well-known ends.

It is understandable that we, functionaries, are exceptionally interested in the maintenance of a good social climate and law and public order and in the public giving us constant support without which the effective work of the militia is impossible. We are opposed to Poles in blue uniforms and Poles dressed in civilian clothes looking at each other with ill will as the conference delegates formulated it in a 30 May resolution demanding that the Bydgoszcz matter be quickly concluded and that the political and state authorities adopt an objective stance.

The thing is that the guilty persons should be brought to justice and not functionaries carrying out their duties unless they have transgressed the law.

Conference Ends

LD071058 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] After 17 hours of deliberations the municipal report-back and election party conference in Bydgoszcz ended today. The subject which ran throughout the discussion was the Bydgoszcz events of 19 March. Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who took part in the conference, also spoke about this and about national and party issues. A resolution was passed which acknowledges that the fact that the Bydgoszcz events were allowed to take place by the authorities was a political mistake and which supports the politically negotiated course of action in resolving social conflicts which Mieczyslaw Rakowski represents. An appeal was made to the public for prudence in deciding on a strike which has been recognized in the present situation as damaging the fundamental interests of the nation and state.

The function of first secretary of the party municipal committee in Bydgoszcz has been entrusted again to Ignacy Iwonicz.

JAGIELSKI, OTHERS ATTEND GDANSK VOIVODSHIP MEETING

Fiszbach Speaks

LD052154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Jun 81

[(Mieczyslaw Serafim) despatch from Gdansk]

[Text] The voivodship PZPR report-back and election conference has been in session for more than 4 hours at the Lenin Shipyard. The nearly 96,000-strong organization is represented by 414 delegates. Taking part in the deliberations are Mieczyslaw Jagielski, member of the PZPR Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Stanislaw Ciosek, member of the PZPR Central Committee and minister for trade union affairs; and Ryszard Karski, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of foreign trade and maritime economy. The delegates established a conference agenda and the sequence of elections, and they agreed that a passive and active right to vote is the entitlement only of delegates to the conference [sentence as heard]. A total of 121 people will be elected to the voivodship committee. Today's deliberations are to go on until 2100 and will be resumed tomorrow at 0900. All the procedural matters were carried out smoothly--they only took 1 hour. This is the result of earlier consultations with delegates in these matters. The discussion was opened by a report of the outgoing executive of the voivodship committee delivered by Tadeusz Fiszbach, first secretary of the voivodship committee. Here are excerpts from this speech:

[Begin recording] The main achievement of the voivodship committee and of the whole Gdansk party organization in the period under review, is an accurate assessment of the essence of the social conflict which manifested itself in August and also unambiguous and categorical support for solving the conflict through political means. A political solution of the conflict was based [past tense as heard] on an active participation in dialogue with the working people.

The aim of this dialogue has been, and is, the creation of such solutions and system-based guarantees which are vital for the development of the process of democracy, for the prevention of crises and the restoration to socialism of its strength and social authority. It is a paradox that, although the overwhelming majority of the public and the party advocated a peaceful solution of the conflict, although the representatives of the present party and state authorities advocated the use of political means, nevertheless the co-authors of the agreement achieved in precisely this hall are being criticized from various sides.

Of course, no one says now that he supported the use of force. However, we are accused of yielding to pressure, of lacking a principled nature, of aggressiveness, and so on. We have always considered that representing the matter in this way was a manifestation of demagogy and being cut off from reality. After all, it is difficult to say that agreeing to that which protects the fatherland from tragedy and which furnishes a great chance to break the series of sociopolitical crises in our country is yielding to pressure.

Poland and the party need a front which is as broad as possible, comprising people of good will and commonsense, people who believe in the great possibilities of the socialist system and who do not spare any effort to use these possibilities for the good of the country. However, what we do not need are discord and quarrels, or a stubborn search for enemies instead of winning over friends. Finally, it must be stated that there exist foundations for expressing the view that the Gdanks Voivodship party organization has adopted--as much as it is able to and inasmuch as it can have its say--the correct line for solving the social crisis which has afflicted our country.

The Gdansk Voivodship party organization has never, even in the most difficult period, been disloyal to the ideals of the Marxist-Leninist party, to the principles of socialism and the principles of friendship with the Soviet Union, and with the other states of our community. We are deeply convinced that we shall be a stronger link of the socialist community the more quickly and the more fully we can build social calm and an efficient organization of public life, based on the policy of the authorities acting in agreement with the public. [end recording]

(?After) the report, a discussion began in which 60 delegates said they wanted to speak. It was agreed that the speeches should be no more than 10-15 minutes long. It is expected that the first secretary of the voivodship committee will be elected today. So far, four persons have proposed the nomination of Tadeusz Fiszbach. So far, no other candidates have been proposed.

Fiszbach Discusses Problems

LD061118 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0309 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 June (PAP)--The voivodship report-back and election conference in Gdansk opened on 5 June, with the participation of M. Jagielski, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

In delivering the report, Tadeusz Fiszbach, first secretary of the Gdansk CC of the PZPR said in part: The main achievements of the Gdansk party organization in the period under discussion consist of a correct evaluation of the nature of the social conflict which manifested itself in August and the fact that the party organization was categorically in favor of solving the conflict by political means.

T. Fiszback continued by saying that there is no justification for the demand that the trade union movement, as a broad social movement, should stand aside from matters outside the framework of trade union activities. We are convinced that the members of the trade union movement and the responsible section of its leadership do not want to turn their movement into a political party and that they will know how to oppose such tendencies.

T. Fiszback then gave a position on four major problems now facing the party and state: party unity, legality, economic reforms and antisocialist forces. What we need is a unity which includes that (?subordination) of all members to the party and the principle of the approval of a single program, not unification of views and methods of conduct. The party strength must be based on the activity and conscientiousness of all its members, not on the illusions, or even the correct conclusions, of its leadership exclusively.

The starting point for transformations in legality, T. Fiszbach went on, should be:

First: Calling to account either politically or under the criminal law those guilty of abusing power, making mistakes or acting irresponsibly in managing the state and the economy.

Second: Allocating the responsibility for the events of December 1970.

Third: Presenting a document to the ninth congress that explains why Poland's crises occurred.

There should be public accountability of institutions standing in defense of the law. No one can break the law; the authorities in particular must never do so. We are against the mistaken and unworthy view, said T. Fiszbach, that the process of renewal by its very nature creates anarchy in law and order.

The delay in introducing reforms and the unsatisfactory contents of both the report on the state of the national economy and the plan for stabilizing it show the force of the resistance of various groups which are not interested in reforms. The party must strongly support the idea of a comprehensive economic reform.

Poland and the party need the broadest possible front of people of good will and good sense who believe in the tremendous possibilities of the socialist system.

In conclusion, T. Fiszbach declared that the Gdansk Voivodship party organization had taken the line of solving the economic crisis. It had never betrayed the ideals of the Marxist-Leninist party or the principles of socialism and of friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of our community. We are deeply convinced, he stressed, that the sooner we manage to achieve complete social calm, the stronger a link in the socialist community we shall be.

More on Fiszback Remarks

LD061054 Warsaw PAP in English 0808 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 June (PAP)--A two-day PUWP report-election conference for the Gdansk Voivodship started in Gdansk this afternoon. Present is member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski.

In his opening speech, First Secretary of the PUWP CC in Gdansk and alternate member of the Political Bureau Tadeusz Fiszbach said that during the 9 months that have elapsed since the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements were signed, "there have been far less necessary transformations than we expected." Neither is there a programme for necessary changes in the party and state.

Fiszbach stressed the striving of the PUWP organization in Gdansk to establish partnerly relations with the trade unions, thanks to which "there was not even one conflict in our voivodship" since August 1980. Fiszbach did not agree with the thesis that the trade union movement should keep away from non-union affairs.

The unity of the PUWP--a necessary thing--must take into consideration each PUWP member as an individual. The party can be strong through the activity and awareness of every one of its members and not through illusions--or even sound views--of the leadership alone.

The speaker demanded the responsibility for the December 1970 tragedy to be clarified and a document defining the causes of other crises in Poland to be submitted to the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress. He also opposed the "mistaken and vulgar theory" that the process of renewal breeds anarchy in obedience to the law.

The PUWP must give strong support to the comprehensive economic reform, as the protracted process of implementing the reform and highly unsatisfactory "report on the state of the economy" prove the power of resistance of various groups hostile to the reform.

Speaking about antisocialist forces in Poland, Tadeusz Fiszbach stressed that every system has its enemies--the less an economic system is capable of satisfying the needs of the population, the more enemies it has. Therefore, the top priority here is creating economic and social conditions limiting the activities of these enemies.

Tadeusz Fiszbach concluded that the PUWP organization in Gdansk has never betrayed the ideals of Marxist-Leninist party, the principles of socialism, and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

Fiszbach Reelected

LD061446 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 6 Jun 81

[By Gdansk correspondent (Mieczyslaw Serafim)]

[Text] The Gdansk Voivodship's report-back and election conference resumed its deliberations at the Lenin Shipyard at 0900 today. During yesterday's session the first secretary of the voivodship committee was elected. This was Tadeusz Fiszbach, who was the only candidate.

So far today ten speakers have taken the platform. Topics that have been raised include youth matters, the catastrophic situation in the education system and the need to clean up the sea research program. Vice minister of internal affairs (Adam Topolski), who is a guest at the conference, presented a report on matters concerning the external and internal threats to the country, dwelling on the activities of the militia and security forces and the public's attitude toward these services.

The most interesting statement during this part of the session was made by (Slawomir Baltenbach), a member of the voivodship precongress commission and a secretary of the party committee at the Medical Academy. Here are excerpts from his speech:

[Begin recording] [Baltenbach] I propose that out of the delegates to the congress elected at our conference, a congress team be appointed on the basis of a conference resolution. This team would be required to cooperate closely with the voivodship precongress commission and with all party organizations. This should lead to the delegates being prepared for the congress in the best possible manner. The delegates' preparations for the congress should be based on the stance drawn up by the voivodship precongress commission, which I propose be accepted as an integral part of our resolution.

We must also create conditions for the delegates to exchange views with delegates from other voivodship organizations so that a hierarchy of issues submitted at the congress is drawn up in a hard and partnerlike discussion.

You see, this cannot be a congress dealing with everything under the sun, because then it will not achieve anything. In fighting for principles and guarantees, we cannot at the same time allow a fight to be waged against principles which are and ought to be the determinants of our reality. A feeling for the needs of the people is only half the (?matter). The other half is awareness of the political and historical realities.

Our conference today should make an unambiguous statement on the system of the alliance of the socialist states. This system cannot be the object of arguments and doubts. It forms a natural background for the development of authentic friendship between the peoples of the allied states, states which always maintain sovereign and partnerlike relations, characterized by assistance and cooperation, without mutual interference in internal affairs. Only such a resolute stance by the party masses can overcome our allies' lack of confidence in the changes taking place in the party and country and can destroy the monopoly of certain groups which allow them to relentlessly exploit the internal conditions for the internal struggle to remain in power of their interception. [sentence as heard]

Our party never has been, is not and will not be anti-Soviet. Whoever tries to speak in this way about us, about PZPR members, is playing a very dangerous game, a game designed to smash the party and the unity of action of the socialist states. We must say a resolute "no" to these players. [end recording]

That was (Slawomir Baltenbach). The discussion in Gdansk is continuing. More than 40 delegates are still waiting to speak.

Jagielski Addresses Conference

LD062348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Discussion is continuing on the second day of the Gdansk Voivodship report-back and election conference.

The conference listened with attention to the speech by the guest at the conference, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Adam Krzysztoporski. Speaking about the threat to public order, he discussed the external and internal factors which determine the present, very worrying, situation in the country. Taking up the subject of difficulties in the attitude of the population to the security services and the Citizens' Militia, the speaker formulated the following suggestions:

[Begin Krzysztoporski recording] Criminality nowadays preoccupies a large proportion of the society. Disorderly behavior, parasitism, profiteering, alcoholism--all these vices do not disappear merely with the progress of economic processes in the country. Crime can be prevented by the appropriate social policy. I wish to draw this to the attention of the voivodship committee which is going to be elected here. This problem is worth giving some thought to. It is not only a question of improving material welfare. A genuine social policy can achieve a great deal in this respect. Cooperation with specialized bodies such as the militia and the public prosecutor's office and cooperation with the wide front of the public--examples of which can be found even here, at the shipyard--are capable of bringing about the very much needed improvement in the state of law and order in the coastal region and in the country as a whole. The second suggestion regarding the issue of internal security: In this respect I do not wish to cross swords with the slogan posted here on the gates to the shipyard [word indistinct]. I would like to say, however, that the release of Moczulski and others does not amount to too great a peril--(?they will not upset our country). But if party organizations undertake mediation of this kind or similar demands, then we must remember that we are shouldering an enormous duty of a political struggle against our foes as well as promoting ideological resilience to these slogans on the part of our society and our party.

Finally, the third suggestion: Internal security depends on the position of our state, and the state can regain its position only through moral strength, which can be provided precisely by our renewed party, as well as through economic strength which we must recover and through action consistent with law and order within a strong and genuinely socialist state. Thank you, comrades. [end recording]

A speech in the debate was also made by Mieczyslaw Jagielski, member of the Politburo and deputy premier.

[Begin Jagielski recording] Each of us is probably preoccupied with the question: What provides the guarantee of socialist renewal? [words indistinct] Above all, I think that such a guarantee can be provided by the party statute. A relevant draft of the state has been prepared and offered for discussion. The proposals contained in the draft should be treated as open. The essence of the issue--no matter what other changes in the draft statute are made at a future date--will boil down to the observance of the statute in practical experience, regarding its norms and principles as sacrosanct and inviolable.

[Words indistinct] another matter which I would like to present in a very broad sense is the issue of state order, our state system, based on the principles of socialist law and order. This is an issue which must be dealt with on several levels. One of them is basically linked, and will continue to be so, with an examination by the Sejm of a number of momentous legal acts. I have in mind the law concerning trade unions, the law on the employees' self-government, the self-government of farmers and cooperatives, the law of People's Councils, the law on state enterprises and a number of other laws. But this issue also has another level, and a very important one--the one concerning reinforcement of law and order and security. Once we speak about law and order as well as security we should, in the interests of Poland and the Polish people, keep within our field of vision the need for consolidation of the mutual trust with regard to all those whose hard and rarely rewarding duty is to protect our lives and our country, not against an imaginary danger but a real one that threatens us. The third point regards the implementation of the economic reform. The gravity point of the reform itself lies in granting independence to industrial enterprises. In the state of things such a system of functioning of enterprises must lead to essential changes in the methods of work both of the central state administration and of the intermediate elements of administration. As far as these problems are concerned specific proposals will be submitted in the near future by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the next Sejm session. Within the framework of these changes I can confirm that there will be an autonomous office of maritime economy set up which will take complete charge of this extremely important section of the national economy.

As never before, political issues intertwine with economic matters, with full awareness of the difficulties in working conditions and in every day life. One front on which the struggle must go on is a matter of paramount importance--the provision of means with which to feed the nation. Parallel to this must be the launching of activities in favor of the plan of stabilization. Independent of the concept of the application of this plan, which has been presented to the Sejm planning and budget commission, I can only emphasize that its main directions will be as follows: Genuine priority will be given to agriculture and food industry; a demand which must be implemented in this connection presupposes that the proportion of supplies of industrial means of production for this [word indistinct] sphere of economy must be increased several times in comparison with the present proportion, amounting to 4 and 1/2 percent. The second direction lies in profound structural changes and alterations within our industry in favor of market production and the needs of export; these changes are intended to meet existing public requirements. The third direction concerns the necessity of shifting labor resources from those sections where certain surpluses are noted to sections where real social needs exist.

Finally, without expanding too much on the subject, there is the issue of a general streamlining of investments, the level of which will most likely not be increased in the next 2 years.

All these activities will be bolstered by the indispensible reform of prices, which--together with a system of compensation--will be submitted to general public discussion. When I speak of emergency action as well as action pertaining to the future I must add that we must not omit or fail to appreciate fully the importance of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union; the assistance which the Soviet Union has granted to us since August 1980 until today has already reached a total of more than $4.2 billion. This sum is made up of financial credits including more than $580 million in nonreturnable credits, the postponement of our payments on account of unfavorable balance of trade exchanges and the fact that the Soviet side recognized a sizeable reduction--in comparison with the stipulation of this year's trade agreement--in our deliveries of a number of commodities.

During my latest stay in the Soviet Union we again found full understanding of our needs and we discussed a number of such material economic issues as, for instance, increase in cooperation and the production of machinery and equipment for the food industry, agricultural machinery, tractors, electronic industry, power industry and, above all (?rare) materials. What matters is that we should not only know about these things but also appreciate them in accordance with their importance. [end recording]

Congress Tasks Proposed

LD071326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Correspondent Jerzy Malczynski report from Gdansk]

[Excerpts] Good day, ladies and gentlemen. The 18th PZPR voivodship report-back and election conference in Gdansk ended 3 hours ago. Let me remind you that it began on Friday at 1500. On the first day it went on for about 6 hours. On Saturday the session was resumed at 0900 and discussions lasted round the clock. Deliberations continued for close to 30 hours.

To wind up, the Gdansk precongress commission (?held a session). The work it did was one of the fundamental elements of the conference resolution which states, among other things, that in defining the role of the PZPR, the following formulations are accepted. The PZPR, as a political party, aims at collective leadership in society. Its leading role is based not on power but on authority. This is an authority consisting of reason and social ideas which is achieved by discussion, rational explanation and effectiveness in achieving the set aims.

The most important tasks of the congress, in the view of the Gdansk organization, are first to analyze the structural reasons for all postwar crises in Poland and to reveal the most important (?tasks in the emerging) renewal in (?Poland); second, to adopt a new party statute which takes into account the demand of the democratization of intraparty life; third, to define in the program document the long-term aims of party policy in the construction of a Polish model of a socialist society and state which harmonizes the interests and traditions of the nation with the realities of the modern world; fourth, to map out on this basis the tasks of party work for the next few years; fifth, to assess the [word indistinct] to date of personal responsibility for the tragedy of December 1970 and for the mistakes which have led the country to the present crisis and to map out further proceedings against other people who have not yet been called to account; sixth, to elect supreme party authorities which would create the prospect of the rebuilding of (?their authority) of leadership amongst party members and which would restore the unity of the party which has recently been threatened because the leadership has distanced itself from the membership base; and seventh, to map out of the main directions of the economic reform, of social policy, of decentralization in governing the country and of democratization of social life. These, very briefly, are the most important tasks which in the opinion of the Gdansk party organization the ninth extraordinary congress should (?defend).

Fiszback Elected Delegate

LD071504 Warsaw PAP in English 1430 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jun (PAP)--The PUWP voivodship conference in Gdansk which came to an end today after a 24-hour nonstop debate of its second day, elected alternate member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau Tadeusz Fiszbach one of the 62 delegates to represent the Gdansk Voivodship party organization at the 9th PUWP Congress.

Fiszback was re-elected the organization's first secretary June 5. The conference also elected a 121-strong voivodship committee and 47 delegates to the party's congress. The remaining 15 delegates were earlier elected directly at big industrial plants of the Gdansk Voivodship.

WARSAW ROUNDS UP REPORT-BACK, ELECTION MEETINGS

LD062338 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] The (?tasks) facing the party voivodship conference in which 254 delegates will participate were established at today's plenary session of the Nowy Sacz Party Voivodship Committee. The conference will be held on 15 June. Materials prepared for the conference were approved and an assessment was made of the precongress report-back and electoral campaign. The second stage of today's plenum will be held on 11 June.

The report-back and electoral conference of the party municipal organization in Kielce ended in the early hours of this morning after 22 hours of stormy and controversial discussion. Party problems and socioeconomic problems of the country prevailed at the discussion. Mieczyslaw Moczar participated in the session. New authorities of the party municipal organization and delegates to the PZPR voivodship conference were elected.

The 3-day session of the municipal report-back and electoral conference in Slupsk also ended today. There was much controversy connected with the imprecise temporary rules on party elections.

The PZPR municipal report-back and electoral conference session is being held in Czestochowa. It was stated in the discussion, among other things, that in recent years frequent tense situations have occured stemming from the dictatorial decisions of the voivodship and municipal authorities and from a lack of consultations with the community on many significant issues.

The PZPR district report-back and electoral conference in "Poznan Stare Miasto" [Poznan old town district] which opened yesterday, ended early this morning. Tadeusz Grabski took part in the discussion. He positively assessed (?formal) part of the conference and discussed the actions that the party must take in preparation for the congress. The conference participants adopted resolutions on district organization tasks and tasks facing the ninth extraordinary party congress. They urged that the 25th anniversary of the June 1956 Poznan events be celebrated with dignity and supported a motion that the Katowice Party Forum resolution be treated as a singular and isolated event to be placed on the margin of the precongress discussion. A further session will be held on 9 June.

The report-back and electoral conference of the party organization in the Wola District of Warsaw has resumed its 2-day session. The proposals put forward in the discussion concern above all the draft of the party statute. Among demands put forward is one for a direct election of the first secretary of the Central Committee by the party congress.

The PZPR city center programmatic and electoral conference is also holding a session in the capital. The first stage of the session is devoted to questions of organization, the election of a commission, report-back and the submission of candidates to district authorities and the Warsaw conference.

A party municipal report-back and electoral conference is also being held in Bydgoszcz. Progress at the conference is reported by our correspondent in Bydgoszcz:

The second stage of the PZPR municipal report-back and electoral conference has been continuing for 10 hours. The participants in the discussion include Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the voivodship committee, and representatives of fraternal political parties. Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski arrived for the session in the afternoon. The deputy premier outlined the current socioeconomic and political situation of the country discussed matters connected with the Bydgroszcz events, and also answered numerous questions. An opening report was delivered by Ignacy Iwanicz, first secretary of the municipal committee.

Krakow Elects Ney

LD062228 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] The third stage of the Krakow party organization Mining and Metallurgy Academy higher education establishments conference ended late last night. The progress of the precongress discussion was assessed. Roman Ney, candidate member of the Politburo, party Central Committee secretary and rector of the Mining and Metallurgy Academy, was elected delegate to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

The session focused much attention on the need to shape a Polish model of socialism and many comments were made on the draft party statute. The Katowice Party Forum resolution was condemned and the session approved a resolution calling for a solution to the Bydgoszcz crisis in the spirit of the Warsaw agreements.

Moczar Attends Kielce Meeting

LD052136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] The municipal report-back and election conference of the Kielce party organization began today. Mieczyslaw Moczar, Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control is taking part.

A municipal report-back and election conference of the party is also being held in Radom.

Today's Lodz party committee plenum was devoted to the assessment and adoption of materials for the voivodship programmatic and election conference. During an objective discussion the course of the precongress campaign so far was discussed. It is characterized by concern for party unity, for a streamlining of its style of work, and for the rebuilding of confidence among the broad masses of the public.

The participants in the plenums expressed the view that the party can profit from the action of so-called "horizontal structures". At the same time, actions of the type of the resolutions of the so-called "Katowice Forum," which undermine the unity of the party, were subjected to criticism.

Moczar Speaks at Conference

LD070046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] Party municipal report-back and electoral conferences came to an end yesterday in Slupsk and Kielce. Among those who spoke at the latter was Mieczyslaw Moczar who stated that the consolidation of ranks and the exercise of control are essential to the party because, as he put it, uncontrolled power constitutes a great misfortune.

More on Moczar Speech

LD071048 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] A PZPR report and election conference has ended in Kielce. It was stressed during the discussion that at present the primary task is to consolidate the ranks of the PZPR and to create a strong and credible party. We must elect the best people, it was stated, people who are capable of taking decisions and of solving weighty problems and who are consistent in what they do and who are not susceptible to demoralizing factors of power.

Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, spoke in the discussion. He said that in order to ensure that today's situation is not repeated in the party, rotation and control is needed in its ranks because uncontrolled power is disastrous. The speaker also replied to many questions relating, among other things, to the events of December 1970 and to the work of the Supreme Chamber of Control and also to the verification of lofty state awards presented to members of the former leadership in the seventies.

Grabski at Poznan Conference

LD052350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] This morning, 270 delegates of the 19,500-strong party organization in Poznan begin a report-back and election conference for the Poznan old town district. Those taking part are discussing activity to date and directions of further work before the ninth extraordinary congress and will also elect new district party officials and 80 delegates to the voivodship report-back and election conference. The meeting is being attended by Politburo members and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Grabski.

Grabski Comments

LD070040 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] A report-back and electoral conference of the PZPR Poznan Old Town District organization opened yesterday. Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, spoke at the debate. He particularly stressed the need for agreement between the demands submitted by party members and the documents prepared for the Ninth PZPR Congress. The speaker said critical attitudes toward the draft programmatic assumptions for the congress have been manifested by circles which he described as being from the party right wing--with views of a social-democratic or Christian-Democratic type--and by leftist-dogmatic [lewacko-dogmatyczne] types as exemplified by the so-called horizontal structures in the party play a positive role in the process of renewal, but that one must have a critical attitude toward them as they are a form of party diarchy [dwuwladza] which can be the source of deformations and failures in intraparty democracy.

The speaker devoted a lot of attention to economic problems, stating that the present state of the Polish economy causes anxiety abroad, in both the West and East.

He also stated that various newssheets and statements have attacked the Soviet Union and that there have been incidents [wystapienia] against Soviet soldiers and desecrations of monuments. There have also been complaints over the attitude of the Soviet press on the situation in Poland.

The participants in the conference adopted a resolution condemning the documents of the Katowice Party Forum. They also spoke in favor of a dignified commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the tragic events which took place in Poznan in June 1956.

The session of the Poznan Old Town District Organization Conference is to be resumed on Tuesday.

Radom Conference Election

LD061428 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] The session of the municipal report-back and election conference in Radom ended this morning after 26 hours. Two hundred and nintety-three delegates participated in it, representing over 17,000 party members and candidates. Nearly 50 delegates spoke during the discussion, and the demands and proposals voiced by them are expressed in the resolution adopted at the close of the session.

A large part of the discussion dealt with events in June 1976. The participants in the conference demanded a full and indiscriminate assessment of the causes and effects as well as punishment for persons who, occupying responsible positions at that time at the central, voivodship and municipal levels, contributed to the explosion of this mass public protest by the inhabitants of Radom.

At the end of the conference new authorities were elected. Mechanical Engineer Zbigniew Urbaniak, a social activist of long standing, was elected first secretary of the municipal committee of the Radom party.

Czestochowa Party Conference

LD080058 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] The municipal report-back and election conference of the party in Czestochowa ended yesterday. (Krzysztof Kondracki) was elected first secretary of the party voivodship committee. Delegates to the voivodship party conference were also elected.

Tomaszow Mazowiecki Meeting

LD071804 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] We learn from our correspondent that the city report-back and election party conference in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship, ended early this morning after a 21-hour debate.

The speakers emphasized, among other things, that it is necessary to accelerate the settling of accounts, which is conducive to the stabilization of interparty life. Restoring the credibility of party actions should also be assisted by widespread and honest information. During the debate, it was demanded that the so-called Gierkowka, [old castle owned by former PZPR First Secretary Edward Gierek] located in the nearby Spala forests, and the rest centers in Markiewice should be converted to social purposes.

In a secret ballot, Eugenjusz Makowski, deputy chief of employee affairs at the chemical fiber factory Chemitex-Wistom, was elected first secretary of the Tomaszow Mazowiecki city party committee.

Railroad Workers Elect Delegate

LD051850 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Reporter's dispatch from Medyka freight depot]

[Excerpt] The delegates to the PZPR report-back and election conference of the Zurawica-Medyka-Przemysl railroad junction ended their deliberations late last night.

The employees of this, the country's largest complex of rail transloading stations, which has a great significance for our economy, spoke about the many burning problems which should be solved by party members. They include, above all, the often altered plans; the lack of freight cars, the faulty system of coordinating deliveries; and also the lack of protective clothing and washing facilities, essential in this work. Those participating in the conference entrusted the mandate of delegate to the ninth extraordinary party congress to (Tadeusz Borkowski), deputy head of the traffic department of the Polish State Railroads Regional Directorate in (Krasiczyn).

KANIA, OLSZOWSKI ADDRESS MASS MEDIA MEETING 4 JUNE

Kania Address

LD051624 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2108 GMT 4 Jun 81

["Extensive excerpts" of speech by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at a Warsaw meeting of leaders of the PZPR and representatives of the mass media, on 4 June--recorded]

[Text] Our conference is of a precongress character. We are debating at a peak moment as far as preparations to the congress are concerned. We are entering a period of voivodship report-back and election conferences. Comrade Olszowski presented a stance, dealing with our situation and the tasks resulting from it, for the party, for us and for you comrades who operate on extremely important [words indistinct]. We are going to the congress for a program, an expected program. One may say that there are great, perhaps too great, expectations that it will be a thrilling program, like that of the July manifesto. Let us not forget that the July manifesto program did not cause applause from the very first moment. Today, with hindsight we can see what a great epoch we were opening for Poland by the proclamation of a time of liberation, a time of socialism and a time for new work and for new alliances which guaranteed the independence of Poland.

The outline of the program has been presented in programmatic provisions dealing with the development of socialist democracy, with the consolidation of the leading role of the party and with socioeconomic stabilization. The outline of the program is contained in the party's constitution, which is the statute of our party, and also in amendments contained in the document. This is the main foundation of the precongress discussion and main programmatic base with which we are going to the congress. The activity of the regional party branches has been very fruitful. Our activists in various links, the presentation of various assessments and various proposed solutions which should be [words indistinct] at the congress. Our program will then become richer.

There is one common thought in all these documents and in the whole precongress debate, one thing that is prominent, and that is the matter of support for the line initiated by the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee. There are arguments, very sharp ones, as to how this line was implemented, how consistently and skillfully, mostly as regards the Central party leadership. There are numerous voices, however, which question its foundations, the direction towards a political solution of the conflicts, the line of development of the socialist democracy, the modernization of management and the planning and functioning of the economy: To put it simply the running of the state and the shaping of a new leading and dominant role for the party and a return to the Leninist principles of its functioning. This is a direction of action which does not have any other rational alternative. Here and there other voices are heard but they put forward solutions which are beyond all limits of reason. We shall not encroach on these limits. One must do everything for this method of solving the most dangerous conflict in the history of People's Poland, which occured in the summer of last year, in order to pass the test and so that the line of extricating us out of the crisis passes the test. Also, our searching for the establishment of real guarantees for avoiding new conflicts must pass the test. This is the universal desire, more than the desire, the unfailing will of our party. We should strengthen all these things, all [words indistinct] this line must be defended. I am convinced that it will be fully confirmed by the congress, as great causes are contained in this line.

What are the guarantees? This line has been confirmed for some months--nearly 10 months since the break in the strike conflicts. It was possible to lead our country, in spite of various tensions, onto the road of accord, without explosions. [Words indistinct] It would be a bad thing, however, if we, in our situation, did not see the tremendous threats to this line. And further, I shall repeat what was said earlier, if we [words indistinct] for socialism for the national existence of our country, if we failed to understand that we are still facing a tremendously important historical task--saving the national existence and saving socialism in Poland.

These dangers result from many factors. Regarding the highly dramatic economic situation, we still have not found a key to its improvement. It is getting steadily worse. Our relations, which result from our payment obligations with the West, are getting more and more complicated. The extraction of coal is continuing to fall in comparison with the planned tasks. The working time has clearly decreased, which is clearly [words indistinct]. The amount of production depends mostly on the amount of work in those enterprises [words indistinct] as a result we are not fulfilling not just the tasks which are planned, but quite the reverse: We are faced with a further decrease in the national income. Our credibility as an ally, within CEMA, is falling. The tensions in the country are not decreasing. [Words indistinct] this is a clear fall in the discipline of the community and the nation and the evil [words indistinct] even a small conflict threatens with an explosion. A local explosion in such conditions can become much more serious. We continue to have this on our minds, and we are continually dealing with this. [passage indistinct]. This is not an invention. It is a fact that various anti-Soviet incidents are increasing in number in our country. These incidents are amazing and there are more of them than ever before. We react sharply to each such instance but these incidents are growing in number.

We must bear all this in mind when we reach for our pens, when we formulate our tasks, when we seek the public opinion. I shall say it straight: Nobody here in this room or outside of this room can suspect me of an indifferent attitude to the line which was mapped out by the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee. If we are to speak frankly, I can say that I never had such doubts before, such [word indistinct] fears for its successful continuation as I have today. If we shall never manage to restore the balance, to make the discipline permanent and to restore the normal functioning of the state organs, then the entire discussion about what should happen in the future will lose its meaning. This is the truth, this is the reality. The objective reality [words indistinct]. And this is also our responsibility.

The caution in the actions of the authorities must be accompanied by higher decisiveness. There was a lack of this decisiveness in various points recently, but it must be there. Only then will everything pass the test. [words indistinct] Poland, as we have stressed more than once, needs the enormous strength of the party. If we fail to achieve this, if we fail to balance the social emotions and moods, if we fail to direct and awaken the initiative in order to use all the economic capabilities of our country, then the way or the direction of the political resolution of conflicts is not realistic. That is why it is so important. Very interesting processes are taking place in the party. They find very wide reflection in the mass media. This is good. [passage indistinct] This must be encouraged and it is good that this is given so much prominence.

The elections in the party organizations at various levels have attracted many opinions as to the way these elections should go, for instance the elections to the party congress. When [words indistinct] at the parish conferences, then at the voivodship conferences we added to them the right to elect the delegates by the conferences of large factories. Now we are considering moving a few steps forward so that all the large organizations, that is such as the universities or the larger state institutions, (?can directly) elect delegates for the congress. However, there were other views or debates: namely, that one ought to support a concept of one mandate per region, or per professional groups, or words indistinct] parish conferences. Yes, the views were really different. The Central Committee made a final decision about the above issues, giving a greater scope for elections.

The elections in lower ranking organizations are practically completed. Here and there, some people are saying that one must not face the fait accompli and hold elections again at the municipal or district conferences. But what can this produce? It is known that if we return yet again to these conferences, it will only cause a lot of disruption in our country. [passage indistinct] But if another decision was made, then we cannot have a situation where in one voivodship this is done by large party organizations, and in another voivodship it is done at the voivodship conferences. Such chaos does not [words indistinct] in the party.

As regards the attitude to the so-called horizontal structures, I would like to stress once again that the Central Committee, the Politburo, will encourage the enrichment of all forms of party work--all the forms which serve the popularization of the best experiences, which encourage ideological and programmatic discussions--and there is no doubt here. As far as this point of view is concerned we consider as useful the contacts of not only party organizations of one group, such as university organizations, but also the contacts of organizations of various groups. We shall encourage them. Where are the doubts and where do the contradictions begin? [Words indistinct] this happens where the movement is transformed into structures, i.e. into centers, into another decisionmaking center [words indistinct]. One can understand the motives [words indistinct]. As has been stressed, at their foundations there is dissatisfaction with the functioning of various links in our party. But one cannot consider this [words indistinct] after the party passed through the system of democratic elections, and no one (?denies this).

Recognition of this other setup [unklad], the set of centers of power and decisionmaking, would mean recognition of all this which does not support the party's strength and which creates a seed for its [words indistinct] the elections at the voivodship conferences and the question of the right of the central-level activists, their electoral rights at the voivodship conferences. It has always been like that and we have adopted the same attitude today. Development of various activities which make it difficult to stand as a candidate, which does not prejudice the results of elections, threatens one thing, as was said here: the infringement of the continuity of the functioning of the central leadership. This is important. [passage indistinct] People could be found who thought that performing duties in the Central Committee was a pleasure. You know very well, or you ought to know, that this is a very hard way to earn a living, filled with numerous dramatic hours, even day and night. So here, we are not concerned with our own good. Here the issue is the interests of the party, which results from personal responsibility for what happened in Poland (?before and after) the congress. [passage indistinct] And finally, an appeal to undertake various actions which will concentrate attention on the political situation in our country, on its unusual complexity, on the fact that the way out must be--irrespective of individual opinions--a way of pain [words indistinct].

Everybody knows, and perhaps one should not even quote this figure because it would be impolite--there are comrades who deal with economic affairs and that would be their stronger point [words indistinct]--in order to pay the interest on our debts, just taking into consideration the West, we would have to devote to this purpose our entire past exports of coal, over 40 million [presumably tons]. This is only to pay the interest. And we know that exports are falling and that the percentages [as heard] are growing. Many enterprises have ceased to function, others will stop because of shortages of raw materials, other materials, both imported and domestic materials and materials that are not delivered because of the poor functioning of enterprises. Initiative is very precious here. We do not present [in the media] a lot of thrifty people or the enterprises that function well. We need to have the movement that directs our industry--construction and transportation industry--support agriculture. The situation in agriculture is very difficult. Comrades have spoken here about various difficulties with materials in their own sector. One could say that an understanding is growing in the state and party leadership of many social needs but this is accompanied at the same time by a significant fall in the ability to meet them.

The paper supply situation has been mentioned here. The number of editions of publications is falling. We recently reviewed the situation as regards Polish books. A resolution proclaimed that we should obtain [word indistinct] eight books per capita in our country. We have four and this year it seems that we will achieve, if one can say so, three and seven tenths of a book [per capita]. A resolution of ideological character was proposed. To show good will, we said: We will not accept this resolution. We must realistically approach what is possible to count and seek possibilities. The same can be said about other fields.

Now, finally to the issue of our alliances, I mean the internal alliance, described as the alliance of the forces of commonsense and civic responsibility. It is beginning to operate more and more fully in all spheres. The press, radio and television play a huge role in the construction of such an alliance and in presenting people of great authority and views on the affairs of the country in order to awaken social activity in directing the energy of our community to the solution of the most important national issues.

This also applies to church-state relations. Our line in this matter has been sufficiently clear and is also understood by the church. Regardless of the death of Cardinal Wyszynski, as was publicly stated, and as Cardinal Casaroli earlier confirmed in long conversations with me, this line will be consistently continued. I can repeat what we have stated officially, that we will favor it strongly.

As for the issue of new large organizations that operate in our environment, I mean the new trade unions Solidarity and Rural Solidarity: The point is that they should be a constructive factor in our socialist reality. We say and repeat that they are an important link of socialist democracy fulfilling their functions of representative and defender of workers' or peasants' interests. We have expressed our attitude to factory Solidarity on more than one occasion. As regards Rural Solidarity, I shall repeat yet again that we should above all react to the actual activity of this organization. We shall favor wholeheartedly this organization serving the interests of the Polish countryside and progress in the countryside and serving well the line of running things according to our policy and according to the law. We should support in every possible way the agricultural circles and rural self-government.

The activists of agricultural circles address a lot of bitter words to you, comrades, saying that their activities and their efforts--and this is an important organization and we shall not solve the problems of agriculture without it--are poorly presented, very poorly presented. We ought to devote more attention to the initiatives of various organizations in the countryside.

And finally, something about matters concerning young pople. We have spoken on this subject on more than one occasion. The intentions of the Politburo in this matter are well known.

But not everything changes because of good intentions. It will be necessary to look more in detail at the programmatic intentions contained in the assumptions for the congress which concern the young people. We are very interested in the mass media picking up everything which favors strengthening the position and encourages the condition for the start in life and the social advancement of the young people. [Words indistinct] out of the 410 delegates elected for the congress, young people constitute only 1 percent, that is, those up to 29 years of age. Somebody could say, as I read recently about the workers not liking to interfere with who is to appear at the congress [words indistinct].

There can be no doubt that the values which one brings with his personality should be placed at the forefront--the values represented by a person at the congress, at this highest ranking meeting. But if we used only this criterion, then I think we would have a congress made up of professors and assistant professors--or just party activists, those very committed ones. No, this is protecting oneself against spontaneity, this is [words indistinct].

Really, it is very important for the congress, just as for the party organizations, to have in their ranks representatives of the masses in the party--those who define their strength. Can one imagine a voivodship, municipal committee, [words indistinct] in which there is not a single farmer? [passage indistinct] This, I believe, is deeply wrong. This applied in the same degree to the young people.

We should not issue false praise. We should [words indistinct] shout with a loud voice, so that at the coming conference the composition of delegations is so shaped that the congress will really represent the masses--young people up to 29 years. After all, they make up nearly half of our society. And what about their participation in the highest authorities? Please bear this in mind too, comrades.

I also think we must create a very effective system of reacting to what appears in the mass media--I wanted to say reacting to criticism, because most often this is the issue. I think, and I here am dealing with one of the speeches, there is a shortage of effort and there is a shortage of mechanisms for reacting, not just to criticism but also to various solutions presented by (?the press). If we create such a system, this will encourage responsibility for each word; it will encourage the thinking of the men of letters--our comrades who work in the editorial offices of dailies and those from radio and television. And here I make an enormous appeal to you, comrades--forgive me for returning to details again--an appeal to be responsible for each word where the facts can cause extreme reactions. I would like to appeal, comrades, to your feelings of great responsibility.

We live in unusual times. Perhaps not everyone is aware of the scale of danger, and that is why here is the first principle--or as often is said, the first commandment of the medical people--do no harm! There is a need for a great feeling of responsibility, but it would be a mistake if your work was linked with the hope that you will not complicate our situation by your actions. Oh no, we are convinced, we believe, that thanks to you and your attitude we shall achieve [words indistinct] that by our own efforts, by political means, we shall really lead the party and Poland out onto a straight road. And there is no doubt that this is also your duty and your conviction--not just a duty but a conviction as well.

More on Olszowski Speech

LD051512 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 4 Jun 81

["Condensed text" of speech by PZPR Politburo member Stefan Olszowski at Warsaw meeting with journalists, 4 June]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jun (PAP)--Today, the conference has to give an answer to several basic questions. First, what is the state of development of the press, radio and television as regards such an important event in the life of the party as the Ninth Special PZPR Congress? Second, does its publicizing, informational and propaganda activity serve in sufficient measure the cause of bringing the country out of its crisis, particularly the economic crisis? Third, the question of acting on public opinion in the sense of consolidating tendencies connected with the development of socialist democracy: Fourth, the very serious and responsible task of making plain the interconnection between development of the situation in Poland and the situation in the community of the socialist countries (?and also) throughout the world.

The large-scale programmatic search conducted by our party consists of the classical principles of Marxism-Leninism from which we constantly gain, the results of analysis of the situation in the country made by critical currents in the party even before the eighth congress, and achievement of the line and practice of the idea of social agreements shaped over the period of the past 10 months. These three factors are combined in party policy into a single whole and constitute a premise for acceptance by the congress of a socialist program which contains neither rightwing nor leftwing deviations.

At the root of the crisis of 1980 there lies, on the one hand, the retreats by the former leadership, in spite of verbal declarations, from the universal principles of socialism; and on the other hand, detachment from the people and severance of the threads of agreement with the working people.

The achievements of the present party leadership consist of restoration of this link. The political line of our party, determined at the fifth and sixth plena of the PZPR Central Committee, is an unquestionable achievement of the party leadership and the Central Committee first secretary personally.

The Politburo is also the initiator of a number of bills discussed later at routine plena of the PZPR Central Committee. In particular, one should name here the bills on self-management and socialist enterprises, and also work concerning economic reform. Joint directives by the PZPR and the United Peasant Party were also worked out in the field of agriculture, and documents in the field of services and small-scale production were also worked out jointly with the Democratic Party. The concept of gradual reduction of working hours, which was later discussed and agreed upon with the trade unions, was worked out with participation of the Politburo. A subject of constant activity by the Politburo is constituted by the economic problems, the complexity of which has been greater than at any time in the past 36 years. Within the framework of this activity, much negotiating was done and efforts were made in the socialist countries. Contacts were also made with representatives of the capitalist countries. This has resulted in neutralization of the more acute economic stresses.

During a period of stormy internal, social and economic processes, we Poles need a strong state, supported by all democratic forces; we need a strong, efficient, [word indistinct] government. We need (?the legitimate) activity of all organs standing in defense of public order, that is, the courts, the prosecutor's office and the militia, since the blatant activities of criminal elements are beginning to threaten the safety of citizens. Terrorism could appear in the wake of anarchy in political life.

In the opinion of the public, the question of responsibility for the situation of the state is of great importance. Here I repeat the thought that for political distortions people must be brought to task politically, and for criminal transgressions they must be subject to criminal responsibility. The 10th plenum set up a commission under the leadership of Tadeusz Grabski to conduct a fair evaluation, both of representatives of the former leadership and of other persons. The commission is actively at work and reports systematically to the public.

In many spheres of our life the leading role of the party is called in question, while its functioning has either been ceased or is being seriously complicated. Therefore, today, what is most important is that the party strengthen itself in such a way that it can successfully fulfill its leading role.

A problem for the party and its leading role is the demand that it work out new relations, different from those of previous years, between the PZPR and its allied parties. In connection with the problem of the party's leading role the question is being raised of guarantees which would serve as effective barriers against future distortions and perversions. The program guidelines and draft changes in the charter proposes such effective guarantees. Not all questions have been taken into account in final wording of the draft party documents. They need further elaboration in the precongress discussions.

Of great importance in connection with the party elections is the question of the renewal and continuation of power. A no less serious question is ensuring the appropriate continuation of high party positions. A proportion of comrades who have been trained for state work in central and voivodship posts should remain in them. In future the periods of office will be limited. It would be unfavorable for all of our party, as the ruling party, if there was a 100 percent change in the composition of the present central and voivodship authorities.

The press, radio and television are giving wide coverage to the course of party meetings. However, in the reports carried by some newspapers and radio broadcasts, one can notice a certain one-sidedness in the presentation of party discussions. This is expressed in the very extensive coverage of the theme of the responsibility of former leaders and criticism of party [word indistinct] offices and the party apparatus.

One of the chief mistakes, of great importance for the present-day image of the party, was the quantitative approach aimed at increasing the size of the party ranks by a system of virtually quantitative directives. The ideological and political consequences of such a formalistic approach to the growth and quality of the party ranks propagandized by the former organizational leadership of the Central Committee are immeasurable. A consequence of this is a form of nihilism in the approach to the traditions, genealogy and achievements of the party.

Also of very great importance is the party's leading role with regard to the means of information and propaganda. The 10th Central Committee Plenum stated with great clarity that the party cannot renounce and will not renounce its role as inspirer with regard to its organs and means of information and propaganda, nor its influence over them.

The new press law will be an important coordinating element in social rights and obligations. It will be the latest significant element in the juridical regulation of social life in the spirit of socialist renewal.

To those who reproach the party with not putting forward its program, with not having a program, we reply that all the significant drafts of social measures and bills form a significant complex of the elements of a programme which will be expressed both in a congress resolution and in the party manifesto after approval by the ninth congress.

The greatest danger which can threaten the party's standing and its function as a ruling party is constituted by attempts to undermine its unity.

On the one hand there have appeared statements and publications disputing the value of the program assumptions because of their alleged conservative nature and proposing far-reaching changes in the party program. They deny the achievements of the 36 years of People's Poland, cast doubt on the general rules [obshiye pravila], particularly of real socialism and undermine the principles of democratic centralism.

On the other hand, a tendency has appeared which is clearly manifest in the declaration of the so-called Katowice Party Forum, which treats the programmatic assumptions as a deviation from Marxism and the resolutions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum as a compromise with rightwing and revanchist forces. The forum participants accused the programmatic assumptions of having a lack of class assessment of phenomena and social processes, with deliberately absorbing the attention of the party with criticizing and bringing to account the former party leadership, and with distorting the actual nature of the counter-revolution. The paradoxical nature of this resolution lies in a peculiar confusion of correct problems with absurd reproaches.

Addressing the representatives of the first and second tendencies, we reply clearly and categorically: Our party stands on the grounds of class criteria for evaluating the situation, is seeking effective ways of solving the crisis and stabilizing the national economy, and is relying on socialism being defended by the Poles themselves--with the mobilization of all the potential and patriotic forces of the nation which recognize their civic responsibility for the condition of the state. The party unswervingly stands on the foundation of the strength of our alliances with the fraternal parties and the countries of the socialist community. This is proven by all the party program documents issued since August last year, the course of the Central Committee plena and the activities of the Politburo and the government.

There is also great significance in the approach to new phenomena in the party, particularly the so-called horizontal structures.

First, the fact must be admitted that the new forms of contacts and platforms for bringing closer to each other the party aktivs of various professional and social groups can be an expression of activity and animation in the party and can serve to enrich its work in a practical way. However, secondly, such activity cannot lead to any breach or replacement of the Leninist structure of the party, confirmed by history, or shake its cohesion, since this would damage the unity of the party and would create conditions in which a split could occur and factions could arise.

Certain representatives of the "horizontal movement" would like to introduce formulations into our party's program which depart radically from Marxist-Leninist principles. To take Torun, for example, the tendency which has shown itself there has the aim of altering the nature of the party to a social-democratic one, with all the ensuing consequences. Only a Marxist-Leninist party can be the ruling party in People's Poland.

This is connected with the question of democratic centralism. The democratic centralism formula is considered binding in our party and will continue to be considered so. The point is, however, to take account of both aspects of it: that which ensures the efficiency of the party's activities and also that which is decisive for democracy.

The preparations for the ninth congress are taking place in worsening economic conditions. Action has to be taken on several fronts of the national economy simultaneously. Emergency measures must be accompanied by a move towards finally working out economic reforms. One must not wait until the economy has been stabilized to introduce reforms nor impose order on the economy without reforming it. Reforms must be introduced to put the national economy in order, even with the aid of emergency measures. The first elements of the reform will be implemented when they are approved by the next session of the Sejm. A discussion must also be started on the reform of procurement prices and retail prices. We want to achieve stabilization of the national economy, but primarily in a relatively short time. In the next few years, we want to change the negative tendency in the national economy, to halt the fall in national income and enter a period of economic growth.

Poland can only come out of the crisis through close cooperation with the socialist countries. There must be no breach either of our alliances or the principles of cooperation with the socialist countries. Those who oppose these rules are committing a crime against the interests of the state. I am speaking of this in connection with many expressions of anti-Soviet sentiments.

These matters cause concern in our party, the Central Committee and the Politburo as well as other socialist countries. All the socialist countries have an interest in stabilizing the political and economic situation in Poland, in strengthening the authority of our party and in perpetuating the basic values of socialism. The concern of the fraternal parties is connected with the quality of our reliability as an ally and the level of our capability in fulfilling our military and economic obligations. These countries provide us with considerable economic assistance, in spite of the fact that Poland is not fulfilling many of its obligations.

We are fulfilling our function in world politics, particularly in European politics. We also play a significant role in the Warsaw Pact. This obligation, which is decisive for our state interests and state security, will always be carried out in full by us.

One of the reasons for the miscalculations in economic cooperation with the socialist countries is pro-Western megalomania. This has led to serious indebtedness and considerably reduced the possibilities for cooperation with the framework of CEMA. The public should also be warned against a sort of "Poland-centralism" in assessing the world situation. Such views are typical of all countries in which acute social changes are taking place.

As a result of the activities of various propaganda centers, the conviction arises that it is this particular country which is the center of world interest. This is not so. For Western Europe, the "Polish question" is only one aspect of broader problems.

We can see at least two orientations in the West: an orientation in which interest in stabilizing the situation in Poland prevails and a second orientation, represented by a considerable part of the military-industrial complex. These groups would be glad to see some reckless venture in Poland which would mean that the Soviet Union would have to be drawn into Polish affairs.

Anyone who wants our relations with our main ally to be natural, to correspond to the vital interests of the nation, cannot and must not bring discord into these relations, create a threat or give grounds for concern.

Our common tasks are obvious. It is important that we should disseminate widely both the precongress documents and the discussions in party organizations, conduct and publicize in the press a party discussion on the future of the party and socialism in Poland, and oppose tendencies harmful to socialism.

It is important that Lenin's thoughts should permeate this discussion still further, that use should be made of the experience of our party and the whole movement ensuing from it; it is important to remember the major theses of these thoughts and think about them. This is a task primarily for the party press.

The course of the Ninth PZPR Congress will be of significance in principle for the future of People's Poland and for the future of the party. Therefore, we must present with full conviction our vision of the future of our country, putting equal value on the national aspirations of the Poles and the values of socialist ideology.

It is also extremely important that there should be a broad discussion of methods for restoring Poland to its proper role in the world in accordance with our internationalist duty and national aspirations, in close connection with our place in the community of the socialist countries.

TORUN 4 JUNE PARTY CONFERENCE EVENTS REPORTED

LD051858 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Unidentified correspondent's report from Torun]

[Excerpts] In not quite 1 hour, the deliberations, which began yesterday, of the second session of the urban party conference will resume.

At the beginning of yesterday's deliberations in Torun, a letter from the Politburo, signed by Stanislaw Kania, was read, stressing, among other things, [words indistinct] the danger of splitting party unity in Torun, (?and) also stating that the election of Zbigniew Iwanow as a delegate is not in accordance with the PZPR statute. The urban party conference in Torun took cognisance of the letter, but recognized that the deliberations of the first session and the resolutions passed during it have full legal validity. The conference decided to restore mandates to those among the delegates who express readiness to subordinate themselves to the decisions of the conference without any conditions. Mandates were accepted again by (?27) delegates [passage indistinct]. During the deliberations the delegates passed a joint stand on the Katowice Party Forum resolution, proposing that a discussion be entered into on the merits and polemics of the standpoints, opinions and assessments contained in that document, and also that the personal composition of the representatives of the Katowice Forum be revealed.

This is all the more important since the document has met with widespread protest and because it (?gives the) impression that there are considerable forces in Poland holding a different view from the general one--but one which agrees with the view of some foreign centers--on the directions of the democratic transformations in Poland. The conference also passed a resolution on the Bydgoszcz events. It [word indistinct] the legal basis and political responsibility for drawing out this [word indistinct] of unrest and calls on the Politburo to make all attempts to eliminate it and to [rest of sentence indistinct].

Resolutions Adopted

LD052152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] The second stage of the urban party report-back and election conference has ended in Torun. New municipal authorities have been elected, as have delegates for the voivodship party conference. (Waldemar Modzynski) was elected first secretary of the Urban PZPR Committee. Approximately 12 persons taking part in the discussion critically but objectively assessed the country's sociopolitical situation and the town's economic and social problems.

The delegates decided to demand of the PZPR Central Committee that one congress delegate from every voivodship be appointed to and included in the commission headed by Tadeusz Grabski. It has been decided to form an extraordinary commission consisting of seven persons in order to explain the recognition at the Torun municipal conference of the validity of the mandate of Zbigniew Iwanow, who was excluded from the party by the voivodship party Control Commission. As is well known, the Central Party Control Commission confirmed this commission's decision.

Also passed was a motion directed to the voivodship committee of the National Unity Front asking that the mandate of deputy be removed from Boleslaw Kapitan, former first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Torun because he has lost the confidence of the electorate. An identical motion regarding Andrzej Werblan was rejected by a majority vote.

Delegate Walkout

LD061836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] The second stage of the municipal party report-back and election conference in Torun, which lasted 40 hours, came to and end yesterday.

During the first session on 28 May, an unprecedented event occurred. A group of delegates, as a sign of protest against the conference decision which recognized the validity of the mandate of Zbigniew Iwanow--who had been removed from the party by resolutions of the voivodship and Central Party Control Commission--with a majority of votes, left the session hall and resigned their mandates. [Words indistinct] those conference participants who remained in the hall as well as those who left it reported to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, in two separate letters requesting him to take a position in this matter.

Stanislaw Kania together with the Politburo in a letter addressed to the municipal conference recognized that the granting of the right of the status of a delegate to Zbigniew Iwanow is contrary to the statute. At the same time, Stanislaw Kania did not approve the stance of those delegates who left the session hall. However, this fact ought not to be the basis for the invalidation of their mandates, as was suggested in the letter by delegates who remained in the hall. The conference, solemnly receiving the letter of the first secretary of the party Central Committee, recognized by a majority vote the delegates who resigned their mandates during the first day of the session. After procedural controversies which lasted for many hours, the conference entered into its program section.

The pointed and lively discussion dealt with, among other things, the functioning of the party and many important problems of the town. Municipal authorities of the party echelon were elected, as well as delegates to the voivodship report-back and election conference. Only several members of the outgoing authorities were elected to the 75-man plenum. In these elections [words indistinct] the election of comrades with thought-out and firmly based views. Consideration was not voiced [words indistinct].

The conference adopted several important documents. Among other things, it took a stance regarding the Katowice Party Forum, which is an attempt at polemic with the declarations of the forum. A resolution was also adopted relating to the implementation of the Warsaw agreements of 30 March. The delegates decided to approach the Central Committee with a demand that the commission investigating accusations against former members of the party and government leadership, which is being chaired by Tadeusz Grabski, should be enlarged to include one delegate to the congress from every voivodship. In a specially formulated stance the conference participants took a positive position regarding the letter from Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, recognizing it as a document unifying the municipal party organization in Torun.

A 7-man main commission was also appointed, which in the course of 14 days is to examine the reasons for the removal of Zbigniew Iwanow from the party ranks and convey its conclusions to the municipal party committee. Ending their 40-hour session the delegates unanimously passed program resolutions of the 18th municipal report-back and election conference of the PZPR in Torun.

DEBATE, REACTION TO KATOWICE PARTY FORUM CONTINUES

TASS Report Cited

LD051808 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] The TASS agency today prints an extensive report concerning the situation in Poland. At the beginning TASS reports on the report-back and election campaign taking place in the PZPR and on the discussion of the programmatic assumptions for the Ninth PZPR Congress.

TASS devotes the bulk of its article again to the documents of the so-called Katowice Party Forum, claiming that the reaction to it is not unambiguous in Poland. According to TASS, many Polish communists express support for the formulations contained in the resolutions of the Katowice Party Forum because they consider them to be a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the processes taking place in the country and party. On the other hand, we read in the TASS article that a campaign of attacks on the decisions of the Katowice Forum has been embarked on, above all by the rightwing leaders of the Solidarity trade union in cooperation with the leaders of certain party organizations, particularly in the factories of Gdansk, Gdynia, Opole and Wroclaw, where Solidarity sets the tone at industrial enterprises. TASS also says that the campaign against the Katowice Forum has been undertaken by a number of Polish mass media, particularly by those which have for some time now been attacking the PZPR from revisionist positions.

Forum Attack on Media Cited

LD051135 [Editorial Report] Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNY in Polish 1 June 1981 carries on page 3 a 2,000-word report by Jan Lazar entitled "A Few Facts...Katowice Party Forum" in which he explains the "forum's" origin, notes that its first meeting took place on 15 May, and reports at some length on its 28 May meeting, quoting some of the statements made during a "very heated discussion," including such pronouncements as: "S. Kania is an inadequate first secretary for he has broken up the party", "It is imperative to drive out the riffraff" (a reference to the "forum's" adversaries, Lazar writes); "The party has been muzzled and has become powerless as a result" and "The working class dislikes rogues and "landowning peasants." Referring to the resolutions adopted at the "forum's" 15 May meeting, Lazar quotes the resolution on the mass media, which reads as follows:

"The activities of the mass media in a socialist state must serve the aims and tasks of socialist building. This means the practical implementation of the policy of the Marxist-Leninist party which is the leading force in the state and among the community.

"The events of recent months have shown that the press, radio and television have been taken over by antiparty centers which have openly been advocating rightist-opportunist, revisionist and bourgeois-liberal views. These centers have consistently prevented the publication of analyses and opinions from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. Examples of such activities can be observed during television and radio programs every day. The daily press, including party papers, has succumbed to these activities.

"Newspaper columns and radio and television programs have been used to attack the party's ideological unity, its constitutional structure and the principles of its ideological life. Destructive and factional activities carried out within the framework of so-called horizontal structures have been extolled uncritically.

"On the pretext of fighting against conservative forces, attacks have been launched against the party's Marxist-Leninist backbone--the communists. Ideological and political divisions within the party have been passed over in silence and the party apparatus and echelons on the one hand and the party rank and file on the other hand have been set against each other.

"On the pretext of fighting for democracy, large-scale attempts have been made to completely eliminate honest party activists from the report-back and election campaign, especially those who represent both in theory and in practice a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint.

"In many cases, the mass media have also objectively facilitated activities of an anti-socialist nature, such as attacks against the internal security apparatus--the Citizens' Militia, the security service and the prosecutor's office.

"We demand that the party press, which is owned by the party, serve the interests of socialist building and support the fight against counterrevolution.

"We appeal to the party leadership and the Government of the Polish People's Republic to put a stop to the license which has prevailed in the mass media in general and the party press in particular and to direct their activities toward the task of ideologically strengthening the party."

'Unintentional Favor' for PZPR

LD052048 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 5 Jun 81

["POLITYKA: Katowice Forum Politically Profitable"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun (PAP)--A fact politically profitable for the PUWP--this (?is how) [word indistinct] Urban labelled the "declaration of the Katowice Party Forum" which has suspended its activity today, in POLITYKA weekly.

Its main advantage, writes Urban, lies in the emergence of a conservative and dogmatic opposition against the post-August 1980 political line of the PUWP. Simultaneously this opposition is too small and too weak, exhibiting in its declaration its ridiculous and self-discrediting orientation, primitivity of attack and (?isolationism) which met exclusively with a broad and critical resonance.

Thus, the Katowice Forum has unintentionally rendered a good consolidating service, since it gave a polemic pretext for expressing and voicing support for the PUWP centerist policy, rebuking all deviations to the left and [word indistinct].

The activists from Katowice have done the PUWP interests in the most stormy moment in the party's history an important yet unintentional favour.

PZPR Statement on Forum

NC051405 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun (AFP)--The Polish communist party has apparently won the latest battle in the "ideological war" between Moscow and Warsaw over the Polish model of "socialist renewal," as leaders of the hardline "Katowice Forum" reported today that they have decided to temporarily suspend their activities.

In a statement in the party newspaper TRYBUNU LUDU, leaders of the group said their decision to halt agitation against the party's way of handling the Polish crisis was based on a recent Polish Politburo analysis of its documents and activities, and a wish "to respect the principles of democratic centralism."

On Tuesday, the Polish Politburo had sharply criticized a May 15 statement by the forum charging the Polish party with "lacking firmness."

This statement was "harmful" to party unity, the Politburo said, adding that it contained "inadmissible simplifications and generalizations."

However, the Politburo condemnation of the Katowice Forum coincided with press commentaries in the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries giving glowing praise to the forum's call for a return to a "pure" Marxist line.

In Poland, the forum has been condemned by all regional branches of the communist party, and the independent trade federation Solidarity has indirectly accused the group with aligning with Moscow, calling the May 15 statement a "memorandum" to the Soviet Union.

BRATKOWSKI MEETS WITH SZCZECIN SHIPYARD WORKERS

LD051706 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Marek (name indistinct) report from Szczecin]

[Text] The meeting by party member workers at the Adolf Warski Shipyard in Szczecin and of representatives of party organizations from our town's major factories with Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, ended over an hour ago. The meeting discussed the letter which editor Bratkowski sent last week to those taking part in the PZPR report-back and election conference in Szczecin. In this letter he wrote about electing people to the congress who, and I quote: in world and public opinion and also among the broad circles of Polish society, are identified with the undercurrent of solving social conflicts by using political methods and of implementing the agreements concluded after the August events.

In the discussion with the shipyard workers he spoke bluntly about the role of Kazimierz Barcikowski in the present difficult political situation. He stressed that if people connected with August [ludzie sierpnia] in our party fall by the wayside in the elections, for no matter what reason, then there would start a completely different issue than the issue which was started by August. He added that the party and its members will automatically voice their support for a different way of solving social conflicts. I think it was not Stefan Bratkowski's intention to convince anyone about the correctness of his point of view. He presented, as he said, his knowledge on this subject. Many of the shipyard workers did not share this point of view. Neither did they conceal that they are impatient and bitter over the stagnation of our social, economic and political life.

They want to implement fully and without exception, the new electoral law. They voiced their unambiguous support for Central Committee members running for mandates as delegates to the congress from the level of primary party organizations.

At this moment Chairman Bratkowski is holding another meeting with members of the Szczecin party discussion forum.

PZPR OFFICIAL DISCUSSES DEMOGRAPHICS OF DELEGATES

LD051922 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun (PAP)--At a meeting with journalists at the PUWP Central Committee yesterday, head of the Organization Department Andrzej Barzyk spoke of the progress of the pre-congress campaign, stating that report-election conferences in all basic party organizations were already completed.

A prominent trend of these conferences was a thorough-going change of party authorities at all levels. It was pointed out that the higher the level, the more new people were among those elected to the authorities, he said. In basic party organizations about 50 percent of first secretaries and some 40 percent of executives were changed. At the level of municipal, rural community and urban-rural committees, the changes go up to as much as 75 percent. At the first three voivodship conferences 90 percent of those elected to the PUWP authorities are newcomers.

The social background of the delegates elected for the party conferences of various levels and of those to the 9th PUWP Congress is also different compared with previous campaigns. The percentage of workers and peasants is diminishing in the composition of party authorities of certain organizations. As of June 4, 1981, among the 428 delegates for congress are 98 workers and 21 farmers. Solidarity members account for about 30 percent of the congress delegates. Until now 285 white-collar workers have been elected as delegates, Andrzej Barzyk concluded.

COMMENTATOR PRAISES OLSZOWSKI SPEECH, URGES RENEWAL

LD051930 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Boleslaw Wroszczak commentary]

[Text] The period preceding the ninth congress constitutes a great test for everybody, not just for party members. It places great and even exceptionally great demands on the authorities and the citizens. Without denying, but on the contrary stressing, the importance and significance of the just criticisms leveled against unfavorable phenomena and persons responsible for the violation of socialist principles, it is necessary to devote ever more attention to seeking an answer to the question about Poland after the extraordinary congress--about the Poland of tomorrow. This question must be pursued all the more because the supreme political authorities emphasize--and this absolutely coincides with the wishes and strong determination of the nation--that there is no retreat from the path of renewal. The wrongs and errors that had been piling up for long years are difficult to solve all at once, as we would all like to do, except for extreme rightwing and leftwing political gamblers who treat the country as if it were a bridge table. Cases of delays; foot-dragging, incompetence and, even ill will on the part of some elements of the administrative apparatus are well known. This does not need to be concealed. Ours are no longer the times when it was felt that if some phenomenon were not mentioned, it would cease to exist. Yet we must also continue to bear in mind that the general attitude and determination to continue the political dialogue create a good chance for leading Poland out of crisis. Nowadays people are watching with exceptional care what the authorities are doing, and--what is more important--the authorities realize it. Those who do not appreciate this fact, who dream about the return to the old times, those who--let us say it openly--are trying to torpedo the renewal, who are counting on the weariness and indifference of the nation, will have to go sooner or later, regardless of the posts they occupy.

A great many problems can be solved clamly, prudently and by political means, and at the same time consistently and equitably. The nation is awaiting the full explanation of the Bydgoszcz affair and the adoption of appropriate steps. Let us hope that by 10 June this matter will be settled. One must remember, however, not only the negative sides of the Poland of 1981. Defects are easy to spot independently of the time and place of their occurrence. I do not intend to praise the authorities, although I may be blamed for this by some of the radicals; nevertheless I am of the opinion that Stefan Olszowski's words about seeking the genealogy of socialist Poland in the tradition of working class movements, in the struggle for the independence of Poland and about the necessity of combining the national aspirations of the Polish people with the principles of internationalism, can be underwritten by us with clear conscience, and it is a good thing that these words have been uttered by a representative of the supreme party.

PARTY CONGRESS ASSUMPTIONS ON WAGE POLICY EQUITY

LD051930 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun (PAP)--The party, committed to consistent implementation of the socialist principles of justice and government's agreements with the trade unions, will ensure that the state's social policy is subordinated to these aims, say the assumptions for the 9th PUWP Congress. The principle of just earnings, as a matter of primary importance, will be strictly observed in practice. In line with that policy, the earnings must reflect the conditions, quality and amount of work done. Social policy will be based on proper calculation of the necessary minimum living standard of various groups of households.

The pay policy must ensure that earnings be publicly known. This applies in equal measure to the leading cadres of all levels, from the foreman to the minister, as well as workers in enterprises, the political and social organizations, self-employed persons, such as artists, lawyers, free-lance journalists, writers, as well a owners of private businesses.

From the social point of view, says the document, it is necessary speedily and thoroughly to restructure the pay system to improve the situation of persons earning lowest wages and those performing work of special significance for the social life. Another important thing is to establish nation-wide levels for the lowest, medium and highest earnings.

Nation-wide discussion on these proposals would make it possible to work out social norms as guidelines for the earnings policy to be implemented by 1984. In line with the assumptions of the economic reform, it is necessary to work out methods to regulate the proper proportion of earnings. This calls for open discussion involving the working people, members of the party and trade union and social organizations.

A system of compensation must be worked out to protect the level of real wages and the living standard of people with the lowest and medium earnings. Studies of the cost of living and the necessary social minimum must be developed and the findings published.

PZPR ECONOMIC STABILITY PROGRAM REVIEWED

LD070224 Warsaw PAP in English 2009 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Jun (PAP)--The PUWP programme of Poland's economic stability stirs animated discussions in the Polish party groups and numerous social and political circles. The programme constitutes an integral part of "the programme assumptions" put forth a few weeks ago by the PUWP before the oncoming 9th PUWP congress scheduled for July 14.

In its programme of economic stability, the PUWP fronted the issue of the home market--today, a Gordian knot, as the nation is short of everything: newspapers and furniture, bread and matches, which implies a negative (?impact) on the popular mood. Estimates show that after the long series of pay raises, frequently obtained [words indistinct] of strikes, the disparity between the money pocketed by the population and the nation's supply of goods and availability of services through the development of small businesses and retail trade networks.

The expansion of market-oriented (?industries) which have so far been neglected in favour of gigantic investments in heavy industry, is to be matched by "putting a tap on the stream of money" flooding the population. The PUWP programme suggests to freeze the upper pay ceiling for 3 years and introduce common progressive taxes on incomes surpassing certain limits. It also extensively substantiates the need for a price-hike in retail trade.

Another group of issues deals with economy. The PUWP is for cutting down gigantic investments and for pursuing such a investment policy that would mirror the real potential of today.

The general priority in the national scale is given to agriculture and residential housing.

LACK OF PZPR CONGRESS PLANS 'DISQUIETING'

LD060938 Warsaw PAP in English 0832 GMT 6 Jun 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Jun (PAP)--Commenting on those fragments of "the assumptions for the 9th PUWP congress" which deal with social policy, TRYBUNA LUDU said this, among other things:

"A programme on the population's living standard, outlined in the assumptions," says about implementing principles of justice in social policy but it does not clearly formulate the principles of the social policy itself. What will this policy be? It is necessary to clearly specify goals for the future and the ways of attaining them. These should be goals viewing the state's social policy in a comprehensive way and not only immediate steps which have prevailed up to now.

"The coming years will be extremely difficult. It seems that the awareness of this fact exists in our society as well as the readiness for some sacrifices. But the lack of perspective is disquieting. People discussing programmatic assumptions for the 9th PUWP Congress would like to see more clear and concrete prospects for doing away with the shortage of flats, worrying especially young couples, and also full guarantees that our living standard will not be declining.

"The minimum welfare standard, family allowances, compensation for the raising costs of living, reasonable relations between the lowest and highest wages are right and socially just but do not exhaust the issue of social policy. It is also necessary to define the basic living standard satisfying more than only minimum needs and which would be closely tied to personal activeness of a working man and his striving to obtain education and skills, and to his abilities and efficiency," TRYBUNA LUDU stressed.

9 JUNE SEJM SESSION TO BE MOVED TO 12 JUNE

LD081146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] The Sejm Presidium, with the agreement of the convocation of elders, has decided that the 13th session of the Sejm due to be held tomorrow will be held on Friday 12 June. The opening will take place at 1000.

COMMENTARY ON ALBANIAN INVOLVEMENT IN KOSOVO

Lolic Article in BORBA

AU071617 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 81 p 2

[Artile by Marko Lolic in the "Current Topics" column: "The 'Ideological' Camouflage of Albanian Nationalists and Irredentists"]

[Text] The hostile anti-Yugoslav action in Kosovo in March and April had a counterrevolutionary character from the very beginning. It was planned and carried out with the intent of gradually spreading and thus threatening the foundations of our community--laid down as far back as at the second session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia--our brotherhood and unity, our equality, our federal constitutional order, our self-management and our independence and nonalignment.

It is for this reason that we are so resolute in our defense of these vital achievements of our workers class and all our peoples and nationalities.

This hostile action was waged by nationalist and counterrevolutionary elements from positions of greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

The goal of their action, by undermining the constitutional order and proclaiming some kind of an "Albanian republic" was to create a hotbed of crisis not only in Yugoslavia but also in this region, which is so greatly sensitive for the general state of international relations, and thereby to also threaten the SFRY's territorial integrity.

With this action, the hostile elements and those behind them tried to deal a heavy blow to our self-managing socialist community, to disrupt its internal structure and to weaken the SFRY's international position and reputation; that is, to weaken its independent and self-managing policy and position.

Cominformist Essence

All kinds of various illegal, agency-like and espionage organizations were formed for this purpose. They were hiding under various names (the "National Labor Party," the "Albanian Labor Party," the "Albanian Communist Marxist-Leninist Party in Yugoslavia," the "Red Front," the "National Liberation Movement" and others, all according to circumstances and according to their organizers' plans) but their methods of organization (agencies, illegal "troikas") and their ideological platforms were the same.

One of these camouflaged organizations called the "Albanian Communist Marxist-Leninist Party in Yugoslavia," whose slogans were used among other things also by the hostile elements in Kosovo, eloquently attests to all that. The same is also demonstrated by the unconditional support extended to these slogans by the official organs of neighboring Albania, whose party organ ZERI I POPULLIT does not hide in its continued anti-Yugoslav tirades the fact that the greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism have been inspired by Tirana.

Let us briefly consider some of the "premises" of that "program" that its creators and envoys from abroad tried to disseminate in Kosovo together with other slogans, misinformation and actions. What is in fact involved, what kind of "program" and organization is involved?

What is involved here is an illegal organization that tries to recruit its followers from among the ranks of nationalists, cominformists and emigres of all colors and convictions, including notorious fascists covered by the cloak of Zogists and Ballists, who are, however, all united by their common hatred of Yugoslavia and its self-managing socialism and nonaligned and independent policy.

By invoking the "program of the world communist movement," whose integral part it allegedly represents, the illegal party does not hide its dogmatist and Stalinist character, its aggressiveness and terrorist nature or its chauvinism and irredentism.

This confused edifice, with a pronounced low level of structure and communication, can therefore mislead only real nationalist hotheads and even then only until they sober up.

In the "ideological tenets" of this illegal party it is also not difficult to perceive the model of Stalinism imported from Albania where alone it has been preserved in its local original form and, at the same time, modified by new variations of that peculiar dogmatism and conservatism created and developed in other national communities where it has suffered the hardest defeats as an anachronism of our time.

And all that is well spiced, from beginning to end, with aggressive irredentism hiding under the mask of transparent demagoguery.

Although it has been historically surpassed and rejected, it is no coincidence that this peculiar dogmatist phenomenon always appears as an antipode to great revolutionary trends and to the strengthening of socialism as a world process that further expands the boundaries of human freedom and emancipation of labor. This is opposed by the centralized and bureaucratized apparatuses of control over social and production relations and by everything else that fears democracy and the real strengthening of the position of the individual. It is therefore no accident that they are isolated from the world and from progress, from peace and stability, and that they then reach for other "tools"--knives and bombs, terrorism and hatred, blind nationalism and chauvinism--because it is in this manner alone that any movement of this kind can draw public attention to itself and can "act."

There are certain laws in these trends and phenomena. Let us recall the reaction to scientific socialism in the second half of the last century when the anarchism among the ranks of the international workers movement tried to undermine Marxism and its revolutionary action from within.

And Stalinist dogmatism is once again a peculiar, conservative and obdurate reaction to the liberation of socialism from controls, isolation and enclosures within the boundaries of one country, to the breakthrough of socialism as a world process that promotes the emancipation of labor and the freedom of workers and the road to democracy and progress. It is therefore no accident that this reaction manifested itself in a particularly sharp and dangerous form precisely through the Cominform and its pressures against Yugoslavia and its autonomous road of socialist development.

"Republic" as a Bait

It is therefore no accident that this agency organization, which tried to infiltrate Kosovo, invokes the "program of the world communist movement," declares itself to be a component of this, and embarks on intensified plotting; that it is, finally, essentially anti-Yugoslav and antisocialist.

The foundations of this "program" are in keeping with the social "model" of the people's socialist Republic of Albania, and its main weapons are Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The slogan about an "Albanian republic" has been put out as bait to gullible people, not because of adherence to the Albanian national cause in Yugoslavia, a cause that can be truly developed solely within the framework of self-managing socialism in independent Yugoslavia, but rather with the aim of weakening and destroying Yugoslavia for some foreign interests.

In all this, the Marxist-Leninist phraseology serves only as camouflage for an attack on Yugoslavia. It is this that fully permeates their pamphlet. In fact, the ridiculous mixture of the assembled "theses" about the development of "revolution and socialist building," about "independence" and "equality" in the "new republic" boils down to false and demagogic slogans which should serve to manipulate uninformed young people and penetrate the workers.

The aggressiveness and brutality in acting from positions of irredentism best illustrate the "theoretical" scope of this pamphlet.

All those are the well-known recipes for waging a special war against Yugoslavia's integrity, independence and self-managing road in building socialism.

When the authors of the "program" speak about "capitalist relations" in Yugoslavia, it is easy to recognize Tirana's official language, which has been heard constantly since 1948. It is even easier to guess their meaning when they speak, though more timidly, about their "program" of development "in the new Albanian republic in the SFRY" or about their constitution, which should be "drafted in combination with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania because we belong to the same nation..."

In "Wolf's Clothing"

Pretentiously and incoherently, but "consistently" according to the basic hostile-irredentist orientation, "the program" is also complemented with "a statute" and "party instructions." In this secret "trinity" of paper it is stated, among other things, that what is involved are "new forms and methods of struggle," that these forms and methods "have been modernized," that their goal is "to unite the divided territory," that with these "new forms of activity"--according to instructions--it is necessary to demonstrate "organization, secrecy and behind-the-scenes activity" and that in "wolf's clothing" it is necessary to carry out terror and destruction, something that is described ad "a political art and modern skill."

Thus, when from an abundance of words and phrases one singles out what is essential, then things become clear and boil down to "sabotage and diversion" serving the creation of a "republic."

In the "system" thus perceived, as seen by the advocates of the "new republic," judging by all indications it is allegedly necessary that "the dictatorship of the proletariat should be expressed" (again according to the "model" of the apparatus and garrison life in Albania). As far as the economic system is concerned, it is requested that the level of economic development be brought up to the average of Yugoslav development. It is further added that "the Albanian economy will be completely independent from the world economy." To be more precise, the authors of this program insist on collectivization in fact, on a nationalization of agriculture, on a complete abolition of private ownership, on a leveling of incomes, a ban on religion and the like.

Briefly, the credo is: to close and isolate oneself, to turn back and to run away from progress and the individual.

From all that, it is more than clear that this is a copy of the social model of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, its practice and principles.

It us for this reason that the "program" acts as a sublime anachronism, whether the constitutional system or the social and economic system is involved, contrary to the reality of the times and the will and interest of the people and nation.

Adventurism and Nationalism

Thus, throughout its text the "program" turns against socialist self-management, democracy, human freedoms and the equality of peoples, because the essence and "logic" of dogmatism is precisely in conservatism and bureaucratism, in isolation and withdrawal--irrespective of whether what is involved are relations in production and in the society or man's freedoms and position.

One gains the impression that this view of a "new republic" in Kosovo is not so much preoccupied with concern for Kosovo's more rapid development--the destructive rage to which militant demonstrators resorted tells us about this--as much as with undermining the fundamental values of our road to socialism which suits the deepest aspirations of our peoples and nationalities and which has become one of the greatest achievements of our revolution and independence as a creative, constructive and emancipating socialist alternative.

If one seeks the truth about national equality on class foundations, one cannot overlook the socialist self-management and equality of Yugoslavia's working people precisely on that basis. It is only within this framework that it is also possible to treat the real historic and national interests of the Albanians in Kosovo. The workers class in Kosovo has clearly understood this by condemning and rejecting the anti-Yugoslav outbursts.

Probably being aware of their weakness in this field, the writers of the pamphlet of the so-called party have taken up the well-known weapons of nationalism and irredentism under whose banner they advocate the most reactionary chauvinism.

Thus, the "arguments and demands" of the so-called program state that the "Albanian people in Yugoslavia live in their own ethnic area" and that the "Albanian people and their national territory have been dismembered, colonized and subordinated to Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia." The program calls, among other things, for the unification, independence and recognition of the national area (except where Albanians do not constitute a majority), and insists on the "national communist party of the Albanian people," the "economic and national independence" of the "Albanian Socialist Republic" is demanded, which should be won "by hook or by crook," and then a regime of terror and pressure are to be introduced to systematically exterminate members of other nations so as to make Kosovo "ethnically pure."

In this connection, the dark ideas dutifully ally themselves with chauvinism and irredentism.

Within the framework of contemporary international realities, nothing is quite as irrational and grotesque as demands to redesign the state borders or adventurism based on dreams of "restoring" some kind of great former or invented state structure. This is especially true in the Balkan area of strong whirlwinds, an area that has been always beset by adventurists and agents who played with fire in the name of "national romanticism" and in the service of the national conservatism of exploiting classes and foreign powers.

We have created the SFRY, such as it is, through the struggle of its peoples and nationalities to live free and independent in their own house and be open to cooperation in mutual interest and on the basis of equality and the principles of good neighborly relations. Thus we shattered the dreams and behind-the-scenes games about some kind of "great state structure," energetically rejecting any plucking of Yugoslavia and all attempts to place it under anyone else's control. We have adopted and continue to have the same attitude toward the slogans about and the aspirations of creating a "greater Albania."

After all, Yugoslavia's borders have been determined by the free will and liberation struggle of its peoples and nationalities, including the Albanian people, and nothing and no one can change them, not only because that would be contrary to international law and order and would endanger peace in the world but also because of our determination to continue to live on what is ours and to defend what is ours in accordance with Tito's wartime slogan, "We do not want what belongs to anyone else and we do not give away what is ours."

Our society has fully and successfully passed its test also in solving such an important and sensitive question as the national question.

It has created and continues to provide all the necessary prerequisites for ensuring that now and in future the relations among peoples and nationalities will be built on the basis of full freedom, equality, mutuality and solidarity.

It is precisely socialist self-management that offers the most favorable conditions for consistently solving the national question, because of the nature of the relations that it has founded and that it continues to develop. Our orientation in this respect is tested and reliable, and therefore all kinds of propaganda balloons, including the "program" of the so-called Albanian Communist Marxist-Leninist Party in Yugoslavia, show themselves as failures and anachronistic in comparison with it.

For this reason the slogans about "ethnic purity" and about one's "own" territory in Yugoslavia are reactionary and counterrevolutionary and, in addition to that, also dangerous, irresponsible and adventurist, just like other ideas and little ideas that smell of the past, of nebulous dreams about great former state structures and of alien fingers behind all that.

Tirana's Fingers

Naturally there is no question of some kind of phantom organization being active in Kosovo independently and in accordance with some kind of an outdated national romanticism. What is involved here are the well-known slogans and views of the neighboring regime of Albania, which does not hide its anti-Yugoslav preoccupations and aspirations and whose leader has launched the slogan "My enemy's enemy is my friend." Enver Hoxha has changed many allies in his struggle against Yugoslavia and, since he has been left without any allies in the meantime, it is difficult not to ask on what "friends" he counts in the next round of his proclaimed war against us. Does he understand that he has thrown out his last card and that the Kosovo Albanians have not been taken in by his provocation and adventure? True, it has caused us difficulties but for himself he has created a "paradise of poverty," as ZERI I POPULLIT itself notes. But the truth about the failures and mistakes of a reservation [rezervat] cannot remain hidden forever from such a freedom-loving people as the Albanian people.

ZERI I POPULLIT's anti-Yugoslav tirades, that are merely repeating the views from Enver Hoxha's memoirs of the Cominform period about the "revisionist" Yugoslavia, do not demonstrate only support for the counterrevolutionary action in Kosovo but also a complete ideological, political and action alliance and coordination between the Tirana regime and the Kosovo nationalists.

The program of counterrevolutionary activity, following the lowest nationalist and irredentist passions, is primarily oriented at subversive activities in Kosovo and further afield. The slogan is "Albanian Republic" and the tactic is--as that little program announces--to achieve the goal through three stages: "by peaceful means," "through political agreements" and finally by combining political pressures and armed action. And if all that fails, then the goal is to be achieved by violence and destruction, for which outside assistance would also be sought: As the pamphlet precisely states, under these conditions "assistance" would be sought from the "socialist countries and especially from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the world's communist parties."

It is obvious that what is counted upon in this connection is not only political support but also a certain military factor.

This kind of "offer" is equally absurd whether it is realized "by hook" or "by crook." For this reason it has been dealt the most severe blows by the stance and strength of the Kosovo people who know their interests and their future exactly, and who are not prepared to accept any specters of their past as their program.

Now ZERI I POPULLIT is bitterly disappointed because this escalation of pressures, with organized terrorist troikas (with knives and bombs as symbols and the swearing-in of "members" under Enver Hoxha's picture), has failed in face of the resolute unmasking of this counterrevolutionary plot throughout Yugoslavia, including among the people and workers class of Albanian nationality in Kosovo.

This is apparently the reason the AWP organ's latest tirade concentrates on pleas that the irredentists should nevertheless be enabled to form "an independent republic within the SFRY," and that it tries to shift all blame for the past unpleasant events onto Serbia and "the Serbian militiamen."

Is that the result of naivity or ignorance, or is it a continuation of the anti-Yugoslav plot from the greater Albanian and dogmatist positions?

Since those who are naive or uninformed are fewer and fewer, there is only the third variation of a correct answer to the above question. After all, it is in the nature of a regime that relies on conspiracy against its own people to behave in the same way toward other peoples. However, that does not lessen Tirana's responsibility for interfering in our country's internal affairs and for all the possible consequences of such a policy.

Mistakes in Albanian Relations

AU072030 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 81 p 8

[Joze Smole commentary: "Yugoslavia and Neighboring Countries: Principled Policy"]

[Text] Our principled policy of developing normal relations with the neighboring People's Republic of Albania has been correct. We will not deviate from this principled policy because we are permanently oriented to developing good relations and comprehensive cooperation with all our neighbors.

Our mistake in our relations with Albania was that we continued to accept a one-way development of relations and we allowed a one-sided restriction of cooperation to relations between Albania and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo alone. As a result of our lack of vigilance in this particular case, we deviated from one of the fundamental principles of international relations, the principle of equality and reciprocity. We let the agreement on Albanian-Yugoslav cultural cooperation amount in practice to nothing more than cooperation between Albania and our Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo alone.

And that was not all. We allowed Tirana to exploit this one-sided cooperation for its own opening toward Kosovo, while at the same time Tirana allowed no opening of Yugoslavia toward Albania. Albania's leadership, which has been waging a permament hostile campaign against Yugoslavia and against self-management and nonalignment ever since 1948, that is since the time of the notorious Cominform resolution, exploited this method of normalization of relations for its own nationalist goals.

It is evident that we must make serious corrections in our relations with neighboring Albania. In the future, we will allow no one, including Albania, to interfere in our internal affairs and to act against Yugoslavia's interests. The answer of all Yugoslavia is very clear in this respect. However, the correction of our relations with Albania will be based on the principles of normalization of relations and of good relations with all neighbors, including Albania, regardless of all the differences existing between us and between our international positions and orientations.

There are always some open issues in relations between neighbors. It would be naive to think that these issues in relations between neighbors could be solved once and for all. There are numerous open questions in our relations with Austria and Hungary also, questions ranging from the position of our national minorities in these two countries to the unregulated small border traffic and many other problems. However, what is essential in this connection is to patiently discuss and gradually solve all these problems precisely within the framework of the policy of good neighborly relations and increasingly intensive mutual cooperation.

As a matter of fact, mutual cooperation must serve the purpose of solving the open questions. This means that we cannot consent to any kind of declarative cooperation which covers up the open problems. We are developing cooperation in which we do not avoid unsolved problems but instead, in the spirit of good neighborliness, we include them in the agenda of our current activity and strive to solve them.

The development of Yugoslavia's relations with Austria and Hungary shows that that policy alone can produce good results both in solving the unsolved problems in our mutual relations and in strengthening peace in Europe. This policy of good neighborliness alone is in accord with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act on Cooperation and Security in Europe.

Sundic Commentary

LD061638 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The authors of anti-Yugoslav articles in the Albanian paper ZERI I POPULLIT rely on their imagination and not on facts. The more articles they write the more difficult it is for them to maintain even a semblance of truth. In the latest, yesterday's pamphlet they not only disregard facts--something they have done before--but also disregard their own assertions contained in earlier anti-Yugoslav statements. Here is Milika Sundic:

Yesterday's anti-Yugoslav article in the Albanian paper ZERI I POPULLIT entitled "Events in Kosovo and the Secret Soviet-Greater-Serbian Collaboration" represents a fresh, unsuccessful attempt by the Albanian leadership to clear itself before the world of the accusations of crudely interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. In their every new attack on Yugoslavia and its leadership the authors of the ZERI I POPULLIT articles forget what they had written in preceding articles. First, let us recall, they blamed the so-called great-Serbian hegemonists for everything that has happened in Kosovo, and afterward the Croatian and Slovene chauvinists, while in the latest anti-Yugoslav pamphlet, reference is made mostly to the Soviet-greater-Serbian plot as the main danger for Yugoslavia and for peace in the Balkans.

ZERI I POPULLIT asks: Why have the Soviet revisionists not said a single word about the events in Kosovo, as if nothing has happened in a zone which they consider to be close to the borders of the Soviet Union and for which on other occasions they manifest special sensitivity? We do not know what ZERI I POPULLIT expected from the Soviet Union--support or silence--or even if it demands from the Soviet Union alignment or neutrality: It is evident that the former is no longer enough for it. This can be seen from the assessment, as the Albanian paper asserts, that the Soviets are very interested in Yugoslavia and Albania cooling relations. They are also hopeful, ZERI I POPULLIT asserts, that the peoples of Yugoslavia will quarrel with the Albanians, which would prepare the ground for intervention in the internal affairs of the two countries.

At this point in time we are not interested in the charge leveled against the Soviet Union in ZERI I POPULLIT's latest attack on Yugoslavia, nor are we called upon to reply to it. ZERI I POPULLIT's assertion that somebody else is interested in the cooling of Yugoslav-Albanian relations is absurd when at the same time, as has been the case for some, the Albanian leadership has been doing everything possible to cool relations between Yugoslavia and Albania. It is even more absurd when Albania asserts that the attempt to reshape Yugoslavia's constitutional order and the overt incitement of Albanian nationalism and irredentism is not interference in internal affairs, but allegedly consolidation of Yugoslav federalism and togetherness.

ZERI I POPULLIT's accusation that somebody in Yugoslavia is working for Soviet interests and constantly and increasingly diverting water to the Soviet mill also belongs to the ranks of the grossest fabrications. Had Yugoslavia done this since the war and if it were doing it now, then it would really have long ago deviated from the road it has taken, not only to a foreign mill, but to a gorge of no return. Or more specifically, had we deviated in 1948, as Albania did, had we chosen our friends and enemies according to the Albanian recipe, then Albania would not have attacked us for so long a time, and they know this, certainly in Tirana, just as we do, but in Albania nobody is interested in truth and nobody has been interested in it for the past 3 decades.

ZERI I POPULLIT's attempt to launch the so-called Soviet-greater-Serbian collusion at this time has a definite aim: a call to blocs to take an interest in Albanian accusations and fabrications against Yugoslavia and to sow mistrust between the Serbian nation and other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. To this end, ZERI I POPULLIT even refers to self-management and decentralization, to Tito and Kardelj. Yet Albania's attitude to self-management, to the leading personalities of our revolution and to the builders of self-managing socialism is clear to all. Lastly, Albania is trying to drag Yugoslavia into arguments with other countries in order to make it easier for itself to wage an anti-Yugoslav campaign, a campaign emanating primarily from Tirana.

KOMUNIST Comment

LD052350 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 5 Jun 81

["KOMUNIST: Distorting Mirror"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav weekly KOMUNIST, the organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, today arries a notable commentary which critically analyses three commentaries of the Albanian newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, which officially interprets the policy of the leadership of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania towards Yugoslavia, in connection with the recent nationalist disorders in the Yuglslav Province of Kosovo.

In connection with the conclusion of ZERI I POPULLIT that "everybody has the right to defend and protect national minorities", KOMUNIST writes that in socialist Yugoslavia this right has never been denied to anybody, the same as Yugoslavia itself does not renounce the right to watch over the fate of its fellow-countrymen in other countries. In that sense, ZERI I PUPULLIT could not find a reason for reproach, KOMUNIST notes.

It is a generally known fact, not only within Yugoslavia, that rights even greater than those determined by the standards of international law are secured for Albanians in Kosovo, as well as for all members of the remaining 17 nationalities which live in Yugoslavia.

Further analysis of that theses which ZERI I POPULLIT continues with the conclusion that "the nonexistence of democratic freedoms and political rights" is among other things, "in the essence of the recent events in Kosovo"--could be unpleasant, since it would be really difficult to compare democratic freedoms and political rights of Albanians in Yugoslavia with those of Albanians in Albania, without the comparison turning out to be very unfavorable for the other side, KOMUNIST writes.

The leadership of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania demands through ZERI I POPULLIT the status of a republic for Kosovo. This is done in the form of support of an alleged demand by the population of Kosovo that their province be turned into a republic.

Which population in Kosovo? Which constitutionally established and constitution-based institution in Kosovo demanded a change in the status of this province? KOMUNIST notes: This was done only by the instigators and organizers of disorders who do not conceal that their ideological and political inspiration--to say the least--comes from Tirana. Tirana obviously agrees with itself and supports its own demands.

The authors of articles in ZERI I POPULLIT often emphasize that they are Marxists-Leninists. However, Marxists should know that throughout history, everywhere, there were ruling classes which exploited their own people and sought to exploit other peoples whenever they were strong enough to do so.

The Albanian ruling class, like the ruling classes of other Balkan "statelets," participated--for its own or somebody else's account--in assaults on the territories and freedom of other peoples. The last of these assaults was in the Second World War, on the side of Mussolini and Hitler, in the territory of Yugoslavia. Why are these simple and evident truths obscured? Probably in order to offer a "Marxist-Leninist" hand to Zogists and Ballists (the Albanian fascists, Quisling formations) who, as we have seen readily accept it, writes KOMUNIST.

In the function of its basic irrendentist idea, ZERI I POPULLIT has on several occasions mentioned the imperialistic mapping and re-mapping of the Balkans. Borders on the Balkans and elsewhere, the Yugoslav paper notes, were often the result of imperialist conflicts or deals. As a rule, parts of various ethnoses remained on the other side of various borders. In any case, it would not be possible to draw a border between "pure" and "compact" ethnoses, simply because they do not exist, either in Kosovo, in Albania nor anywhere else.

Beside this, the Second World War gave us a tragic lesson on attempts to round off "ethnic borders". Hitler's ambition to rule the world was, at least in the beginning, articulated in the demand for the unification of "German Lands". The consequences are well-known to us, and should also be well-known to the Albanian leadership.

It was actually because of this, underlines KOMUNIST, that the anti-Hitler coalition took the stand that the borders established after the consequences of the aggression were eliminated could not be changed by violence, pressures or subversion. The principle of the inviolability of borders was incontestably reaffirmed at the 1975 Helsinki meeting of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. The problems of national minorities cannot be solved by way of actions for changing borders, without running the risk of new cataclysms, notes KOMUNIST.

The Yugoslav newspaper points out that Yugoslavia was not the result of imperialist combinations. Yugoslavia was created by the will of its nations and nationalities, expressed in their common liberation struggle and revolution, and has been developed as a federal, socialist, self-management and nonaligned state. All that has to be developed, perfected or changed in Yugoslavia, and there is always much, we shall do ourselves, stresses KOMUNIST.

In spite of all that is happening, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are still desirable. That is, indisputably, the long-term interest of both countries.

However, KOMUNIST concludes, if it is not yet clear to sombody in Albania what in that cooperation is neither possible nor permissible, that is, what can prevent it--and that is every form of interference in internal affairs of Yugoslavia--it is indispensable for him to reconsider critically, in a different manner than so far, lessons resulting from the recent events in Kosovo.

PRISTINA PARTY CONFERENCE DISCUSSES KOSOVO EVENTS

LD062134 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1053 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Pristina, 6 Jun (TANJUG)--The municipal League of Communist's conference met today for the third time since the outbreak of hostile demonstrations in the capital of the Province of Kosovo, to appraise the current political situation, the activity of the League of Communists during this period and to determine what lines of action should be followed in the struggle against hostile activity. The introductory report was submitted by Aslan Fazlija, president of the Pristina League of Communists Municipal Conference. The session was also attended by Veli Deva, president of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium and other officials.

Speaking about the involvement of the municipal committee during the past very complex period, Aslan Fazlija first dwelt on the situation in the capital of the province and on some specific aspects of the causes and consequences of hostile activity in Pristina. He particularly stressed the fact that as the main cultural, educational, administrative, political and economic center of the province, Pristina had been the main target of the enemy, who wanted to achieve prominence there in any form.

The organization of the League of Communists of Pristina, despite being the leading ideopolitical and organizational force, was at that time weighed down by numerous shortcomings. These shortcomings, according to Fazlija, were reflected above all by an inadequate class and revolutionary composition, by an inadequate level of organization and unity of action, especially in the larger [party] cells in the economy and at the university. There was also a low ideological level among members of the League of Communists and lack of ideological preparedness for the struggle against various trends. To this should be added the burden of conformism, insufficient personal involvement and lack of organization and ability to cope in the struggle against the enemy's attempts to be active. Particular stress should be placed on Aslan Fazlija's observation about the neglect for work with the masses, especially among the young, which was replaced by forum-type work and work in informal groups of representatives of political structures.

The shortcomings which existed in ideological activity and involvement in action created scope for the penetration into the League of Communists by alien and opposing ideological trends and tendencies, especially in the sphere of international relations, in the field of education and upbringing and in information media, Fazlija stressed.

The League of Communists did not (?possess) a sense of resistance to these trends and this penetration, so that in the course of this process, according to Fazlija, there was penetration by trends fomenting national romanticism, Albanian nationalism and irredentism, especially among the young, regardless of whether this was from Albania or was created here on the basis of inherited ways of thinking, especially in the countryside. This was accompanied by the phenomena of inconsistency and onesidedness in the practical realization of the LCY policy on national equality, the use of language and script, normative regularization of this policy, and so forth. This created an atmosphere burdened by intranational relations and created the elements for cooling relations between members of different nationalities. This contributed to the feeling of insecurity in a number of members of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples and to the tendency for them to leave Pristina.

In this situation the social self-protection system also failed. It was geared to the demands of the moment, and in the environments in which demonstrations took place it failed completely. This was so in the case of the student center and hostels, sections of the power-generating industry in Obilic, the shock absorbers plant, the Ramis Sadik construction industry combine, and the 19 November and Nikola Tesla secondary schools for agricultural and economic vocations in Obilic. The main weakness of the system lay in the fact that it was formalistically organized in plans and schemes, rested on narrow foundations and gathered together only a certain number of officials and activists rather than a broad number of working people and citizens, and was oriented only for action against external factors and not toward internal ferment of the kind that took place this year.

Within the framework of the League of Communists being the leading ideopolitical force, with political responsibility, and whose function is to lead all processes of social development, the organization of the League of Communists of Pristina is responsible for the total state of affairs in which the town and society found themselves and in which situation they remain, Fazlija continued. He then stressed that the enemy had spent much time preparing a platform and organization for its activity and that it succeeded in gaining access to some of the sections of our chain of political stability and security. This indicates that the League of Communists as a whole, and thus also the municipal committee and conference and the other organs of sociopolitical organizations and sociopolitical communities, failed to achieve the effect which was called for by the situation and that they consequently bear their share of responsibility, and this also applies to the cadres which are their members and which lead them.

Aslan Fazlija went on to say that this is something on which this conference should give its view. Fazlija said despite what I describe as clear attitudes and conclusions, we have not ensured their complete realization. We have been weighed down by a forum-type of work and by maintaining our links with the basic organizations of the League of Communists by means of written documents; we have not always reacted to excess situations by nipping them in the bud but have sought to calm down the situation; we have given too much preoccupation to the never-ending day-to-day questions, and we have not involved sociopolitical organizations and the masses and the remainder of the existing mechanism of self-management in settling questions.

Fazlija suggested that at its next session, to be held before the end of June, the conference should produce a closer appraisal of the 1 year's functioning of the municipal committee and conference in the light of Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work, decision-making and responsibility,and make an effort to strengthen the cadres of the municipal committee and conference.

This is so, Fazlija stressed, because ideopolitical activity has not been pursued with the same quality and intensity in all environments. Until recently, efforts to start activity in the environments in which people took part in the demonstrations have been sluggish, while in environments in which no one took part in the demonstrations, activity has been reduced to declarations in favor of the platform of the League of Communists, and without adequate criticism of the situation, or trends and ideological concepts in one's own environment.

Ideopolitical activity has mainly revolved around the attitude to demonstrators who are members of the League of Communists. In the course of the ideopolitical differentiation to date, 57 members have been expelled, 33 have been punished with party disciplinary measures, 100 members have been proposed for deletion from the membership roll of the League of Communists at the university, 10 educational workers and 6 information media workers have been suspended from work, and 33 pupils have been expelled from school.

The municipal committee, according to Fazlija, has reached the conclusion that after the initial shock, a sobering up process has started at the university. There has been a noticeable degree of unity in condemning the demonstrations and their character and also unity with regard to the measures taken to stabilize the situation. But there is a noticeable lack of adequate self-criticism, there is an attempt to play down the phenomena which have been subjected to criticism at the university, and there have been attempts to divert the discussion from the main line of action--the struggle against hostile activity and for a critical analysis of the situation and problems--to polemics with individual articles or statements made by individuals during this tempestuous political life which is now unfolding. The committee also judged that the process of normalization of the situation in secondary schools is proceeding relatively satisfactorily, though there have been individual attempts to boycott tuition, write slogans, and so forth. This process in these schools is proceeding slowly, especially in schools whose pupils took part in the demonstrations.

Basic League of Communists organizations in public information media have embarked with greater offensive on taking measures and identifying the exponents of deviate phenomena. However, a deeper self-criticism and self-critical analysis of program orientation and content along the line of differentiation is still to come. Significant political activity is in progress in local communities. The hostile demonstration platform was condemned and a notable degree of mobility was achieved, in particular as regards measures of self-protection, but more notable differentiation processes have not been noted.

In Fazlija's words, the municipal committee noted that in the debates so far on the causes, character and consequences of enemy demonstrations and in the differentiation process the question of personal responsibility of organs in environments where the demonstrations trained and from where some participants in the demonstrations come, has not yet been raised. An exception to this is the Nikola Tesla school center in Obilic where temporary measures were introduced.

This entire activity, in the assessment by the municipal committee, does not give one the right to think that the situation has become stable. On the contrary, the situation is still very complex and encumbered by many elements of instability. The enemy acts by continuing his actions in various forms--threats of fresh demonstrations, attempts to keep children from going to school, writing slogans, misinformation and others.

Launching the debate at today's session of the conference of the Pristina municipal League of Communists organization, Aslan Fazlija called on the delegates not to submit reports and deal too much with past events but to try to make their speeches in the service of future action.

This, one could say, was an entirely justified demand but it did not meet with sufficient response, at least not in the first 5 hours of debate during which eight participants in the session spoke from the rostrum. Two assessments were common to all the speeches: The activity is extensive, but the results are not, the differentiation process is slow and often only in its inception, and precisely so in those environments where there are the greatest reasons and causes are for it.

Aljus Salihu stressed that the consolidation of togetherness is an ever topical task, and now in particular. He pointed out that, along with the entire range of action, there is a need for organs of power to take timely and energetic measures against phenomena which threaten the security of people.

Speaking about the situation at the medical faculty, for which the action conference has not yet met, Dr Besnik Slamniku said that it was necessary to democratize cadre policy in this higher education institution because the principles of rotation and reelection seem to be unknown there.

Our weakness as communists has been that we did not oppose enemy activity on time, Avdus Sejdiju said and stressed that Kisnica and Novo Brdo miners replied to enemy onslaughts by greater work commitments.

Describing the political security situation in the province's capital as very complex and grave, Hasan Mehmeti spoke in particular about the work of the security service. He stressed that this service earlier also pointed to enemy activities, in particular those from Albanian nationalism and irredentism. However, it seems that these warnings were not given due attention.

Speaking at the session of the Pristina League of Communists' Conference, Veli Deva, president of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists, said that the communists of the province's capital are undergoing a severe test struggle against enemy counterrevolutionary forces. The fact that the conference is dealing once again with well-known events, in Veli Deva's words shows that there is still quite a lot to be said about the causes which led to destabilization in the province.

The enemy activity which we face, Deva went on, manifested itself with a certain continuity and without stopping since 1945. Young generations who do not know this should be told.

Something else shows continuity too. This is nationalism. Not a single enemy organization has had a different ideology--except nationalism, only the name has been changing. The reason for this is that nationalism is an ideology of classes which were smashed by our revolution, that is an ideology of the bourgeoisie, of various rulers and of foreign agencies. It is therefore not surprising that again now, in the struggle against Yugoslavia the remnants of the Albanian monarchy and former fascist servants, renegades, the darkest reaction and even the murderers of the people's hero Hajdar Dusi have come together. Part of this continuity is the attempt by nationalists, both in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia, to seek support from forces outside our country and to find allies among them. All those who our revolution smashed are now obliterating their mutual differences, are drawing closer together and are setting up a united front against Yugoslavia. Such plans are nothing new. However, just as they were smashed in 1941, 1945 and 1948, they will also be smashed now because the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia are conscious of where nationalistic policy leads. And the Albanian nationality knows this full well, Veli Deva stressed.

The president of the provincial committee then spoke about immediate tasks in implementing the action program of activities in the struggle against enemy and counterrevolutionary forces and for the stabilization of the political situation in the province. He stressed that the most important thing now is that such activity should become not only a matter for the League of Communists but for all sociopolitical organizations and organs, all work collectives, of every man in Kosovo. In this connection, Veli Deva stressed that one should no longer stop merely at assessments of weaknesses but that one should embark on action aimed at changing the situation, that is, turn to creative work.

Serif Kukaj recalled that the majority of associates of the economic institute in Pristina were in Albania. We saw what they achieved and what their "freedoms" are like but we have not told the young generation about it. Professors should bear responsibility for having allowed the young to be deceived by demagogical ideas. Enemies are not only those who went out into the streets but also those who today sabotage production, Kukaj said.

Jadranka Vulic, of the economics faculty, pointed out that individual professors and teachers were elected to fairly significant functions despite the fact that they did not carry out their work very well.

The enemy was combatted but his activity is not over yet, said Veselj Luatifi, secretary of the municipal Secretariat of Internal Affairs. He added that from his own responsibility he was prepared to bear the relevant consequences. Pointing to the link between demonstrations in 1968 and recent ones, Budislav Vujisic stressed that bureaucratized individuals flirted with nationalism. In Mladen Canic's words, some sports matches too were turned into demonstrations of Albanian nationalism and irredentism when, along with the waving of Albanian flags, there was chanting against our teams.

He also talked of other, seemingly minor, examples which had in them the origins of the present situation. In a school in Pristina, even today, the regulations are only read in Albanian. During the recent May Day holidays, children in a school were ordered to learn the song "Grow and Strengthen, Albania" by Albanian poet Fraseri.

Dragan Cvejic noted that the number of those present at the session fell after the recess by some 20 to 30 persons and this, in his view, is not without significance when one knows what is being discussed. He said that a working group was formed at the faculty of medicine to examine the behavior of the director of the gynecological and natal clinic, Sehadeta Mekuli, who is suspected of having helped the demonstrators. Unfortunately, the working group also includes those who themselves took part in the demonstrations, Cvejic said. He asked: Why are there frequent excesses at the philosophical faculty, in particular at the chair for Albanian language and history?

Cvejic said that some elementary schoolbooks in Albanian do not contain Tito's picture. He also pointed out that RILINDJA published a poem about Tito with a graphical illustration which insults human dignity.

Summing up the session, Aslan Fazlija explained a number of issues raised in the debate. He said that on two occasions at meetings assessing merits, the question was raised of the behavior of Dr Sehadeta Mekuli, director of the gynecological and natal clinic in Pristina during the demonstrations. Since Dr Mekuli is not a member of the League of Communists and as she has not given an account of her behavior in order to establish facts, the president of the Pristina League of Communists conference asked the faculty of medicine to form a commission to establish accurately her behavior. If this commission has members who also took part in the demonstrations, this will be investigated, Fazilja said.

As regards the so-called theses about the compulsory knowledge of the language of one's environment, Aslan Fazlija said that the commission for intranational relations of the municipal committee, has, within the context of preparing an examination of all the intra-national relations in the municipality, proposed the text of these theses. Fazlija said that at that time he did not see any harmful aspects of those theses and he added that they were also discussed at the municipal committee session. It was decided then that they contained awkward and irrelevant formulations and that the final attitude to them be adopted following a special discussion of intranational relations in the municipality. Such a discussion, however, was never held. If the conference believes that the damage of these theses should be established, and, if this damage is established, I am ready to bear my responsibility, Aslan Fazlija stressed. He advocated full unity of members of the conference, both when the situation is being critically examined as well as in action, and in this context he pointed out that before assessments of individual situations and phenomena are made, it is necessary to establish the real truth and propose methods to overcome them.

Members of the Pristina League of Communists conference accepted the assessments of the topical political situation in the municipality and the plan of activities for realizing tasks laid down by the provincial committee's action plan.

The conference of the Pristina League of Communists organization decided that the basic League of Communists organization of the provincial Institute for the Promotion of Education and Upbringing be disbanded because that party organization, due to its unsound intrahuman and intranational relations, lack of criticism and self-criticism and due to its burden of personal and group interests, does not provide guarantees of being able to carry out, efficiently and responsibly, the complex tasks which the institute faces in the further transformation of education and upbringing.

MOJSOV OUTLINES TASKS OF LCY PRECONGRESS PERIOD

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[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jun (TANJUG)--About a year separates us from the 12th LCY Congress. During this relatively short period the communists of Yugoslavia--all the basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists--will face very responsible tasks and large amounts of work that must be done during the preparations for this most important gathering of the communists of Yugoslavia, which we shall hold for the first time without Comrade Tito. This is stressed by Lazar Mojsov in an article entitled "Forward the 12th LCY Congress," due to appear in KOMUNIST tomorrow.

This highest forum of the LCY should, in Lazar Mojsov's view, critically and comprehensively appraise the results achieved and the present political juncture in our development in order to be able, on the basis of its analysis of the current socioeconomic and political situation and developments in our country and international relations, to show the way and open up the prospects for our further socialist self-managing development and establish the tasks for the communists' immediate action. In particular the congress must consider even more concretely the topical questions of the development of the League of Communists and more closely determine the manner of realizing its role in the political system of socialist self-management.

The period since the 11th congress has been filled by the struggle waged and efforts made by the League of Communists, the working class and the working people for the comprehensive building of our socialist self-managing society through a resolute orientation toward the strengthening of associated labor, the leading role of the working class in society and the leading ideopolitical role of the League of Communists.

The new Constitution, the law on associated labor and the attitudes of the 11th LCY Congress—which, among other things, creatively shaped the foundations of the political system of socialist self-management in keeping with the new socioeconomic relations and the realization of Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work and responsibility--started the process of the further major, democratic social transformations, aimed toward building the community of free producers associated on the basis of self-management. This tempestuous development has at the same time also been accompanied by numerous contradictions and difficulties of the kind inevitably created by such deep changes. These difficulties are increased by economic troubles, the causes and source of which lie both in our internal developments and shortcomings and in the difficult and complex international economic and political situation. All this is also leading to a certain halt in the development of self-managing socioeconomic relations in a number of spheres of work and creativity and to shortcomings and insufficiently effective work of some of the self-managing delegate institutions.

Recently our internal and external enemies have tried to frustrate our resolute struggle for economic stabilization and for the realization of all the goals we set ourselves for the medium-term plan of our community's socioeconomic development by means of their counterrevolutionary action in Kosovo, motivated by the desire to destabilize Yugoslavia and threaten the vital achievements of our socialist, federal community--brotherhood and unity, socialist togetherness, constitutional order and socialist self-management.

Their plans have been foiled by resolute and effective political activity and other measures. In the persistent and long-term action required against the enemy, against Albanian irredentism and nationalism in Kosovo and nationalism in any other environment in which it may manifest itself, the League of Communists as a whole and the communists of Kosovo in particular are facing very responsible tasks and systematic and long struggle. In this struggle the communists of Kosovo must be given full trust and support.

When facing difficulties and problems, which have been frequent in our tempestuous post-war development, we have never gone down on our knees; instead, we have tackled them courageously and resolutely, fought persistently to surmount them and emerged victorious. A strong League of Communists, united ideopolitically and capable of action, and its direct ties with the working class and masses in the action for the further development of socialist self-management have always been the guarantee of success in all our struggles with all difficulties and hostile intentions and activities. The special feature of our revolution is that our party--apart from the working class, which is the basic exponent of the revolution--has drawn its strength from and always relied on the involvement of all the working people and all the nations and nationalities.

The present problems and difficulties are undoubtedly great and serious, but communists cannot be content with merely enumerating them and noting their existence. In our precongress activity we must embark more rapidly on the courageous and open analysis of the situation and, by appraising results, mistakes and unsolved questions critically, open up prospects and define our concrete action tasks. A significant contribution will also be made to this by the third congress of self-managers of Yugoslavia, the results of which we must comprehensively use in our preparations for the congresses and conferences of the League of Communists.

In carrying out their regular tasks and pursuing their current activities, all the basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists must direct their action in the next period primarily toward the consistent implementation of the Constitution and the law on associated labor, consolidation of the material position of associated labor and its further self-managing organization and association, and the realization of the decisive role of the working class in shaping the policy of reproduction and the entire policy of social development. In all this it is necessary to make a significant step forward through the still more direct adaptation of the League of Communists' activity to the new relations in society and through the concrete creative activity of communists in the institutions of the political system of socialist self-management.

Consequently, the basic emphasis in the course of the preparations and at the congresses of the League of Communists of the republics, at the provincial conferences and the 12th LCY Congress will be placed on all the topical questions and tasks of the League of Communists in the struggle for the further sociopolitical and economic development of the country and for the realization of those strategic orientations which are grounded in the decisive role of the working class in society, in the development of socialist self-management, and in the consolidation of our nonaligned and independent foreign policy.

In the course of our precongress activity we must perceive as concretely as possible the causes of a number of difficulties and stoppages that occur at individual points in our self-managing socialist development. In addition to further developing socialist self-managing relations, we should also pay more attention than we have so far to the positive effect of economic laws of the socialist production of goods and of the market on economic activity and development, to the promotion of planning, to structural harmony in the economy, to the policy of intensified economic development and to a long-term strategy of economic and technological development. The problems of employment, social and housing policies, development of the standard of living and so forth are also connected to this. In all this we must achieve a reduction of administrative intervention by the organs of state, though in individual cases this intervention will continue to be indispensable.

We must achieve the settlement of the problems of association, harmonization of development, production and so forth through self-managing agreement seeking and social consultations, unhindered functioning of the unified Yugoslav market and promotion of economic relations with foreign countries. Boosting the process of self-managing pooling of labor and resources, raising production and efficiency and overcoming narrow interests, isolationism and self-sufficiency are the current tasks to which we must apply ourselves during the preparations for the congresses and conferences of the League of Communists.

We must pay particular attention to apparaising results, understanding problems and determining the further ideopolitical tasks of the League of Communists with regard to the still more successful realization of the policy and strategy of the more rapid development of insufficiently developed republics and the Province of Kosovo in the light of the already adopted attitudes and of the possibilities and conditions for the more harmonious development of the country as a whole.

In this period we must embark energetically and in still more concrete ways on settling the other economic problems, elimination of the causes of manifestations of instability, disruptions of economic trends, the high rate of growth of prices and inflation--in brief, the realization of the tasks of economic stabilization as a whole.

The activity of the basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists, as well as that of the communists in all the institutions of the political system, must be aimed still more during the period up to the congresses and conferences of the League of Communists at promoting democratic relations and efficiency in the functioning of the political system and the elimination of a certain halt which has been noticeable lately.

Experience so far gained clearly shows that the development of delegate relations and the functioning of the delegate system increasingly depend on the rate of success in the realization of the role and the manner of activity of sociopolitical organizations, especially the Socialist Alliance, and on the League of Communists' ideopolitical and action capability for work in the delegate system. The role of the Socialist Alliance is often ignored and bypassed, insufficient use is made of the numerous and diverse forms of activity in the course of which specific social problems are considered on the broadest democratic basis and conclusions are adopted which must be borne in mind by those who make decisions about them. One of the shortcomings in the work of the Socialist Alliance--and not only of the Socialist Alliance--is the absence of constant and concrete political work in the masses, direct contact and dialogue with the working people, especially the young, in which social criticism and initiatives leading to social action would freely appear.

The efficient functioning of our political system and its protection call for further efforts and initiatives on the part of the League of Communists in the building and strengthening of all-people's defense and social self-protection as its unique and integral functions. During the preparations for the forthcoming congresses and conferences it is necessary to perceive all the factors which influence the stability and security of the socialist, self-managing and independent community of our nations and nationalities and determine what measures should be taken to preserve the SFRY's freedom, independence, territorial integrity and constitutional order.

We must continue our activity on the realization of Comrade Tito's initiative with all the breadth of approach to its significance and essence, as well as the necessary degree of concreteness.

This will contribute to the development of democratic sociopolitical relations and strengthening of collective work and responsibility both in the League of Communists and in other socio-political organizations and social organs.

Within the framework of the development of the production forces and socialist self-managing relations in society, the League of Communists is devoting much attention to the role and development of science, culture and education. Science is today becoming an increasingly significant production force and subjective factor of the development of society. The more rapid comprehensive development of our society and socialist self-managing relations, technological progress, productivity of work and so forth depend to a significant degree on how the whole range of relations develops in the sphere of spiritual creativity. On this also depends the further humanization of relations in our society, which is one of the most essential aspects and elements of the development of socialist self-managing relations and the affirmation of the role played by man as a free producer, creator and manager. Consequently these questions too must be constantly present throughout the precongress activity.

During our precongress preparations we shall strive to develop and strengthen ideopolitical capability and revolutuinary orientation and militancy of the members and of the basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists, primarily from the point of view of more efficiently realizing its ideopolitical role in the political system. The greatest attention will be devoted to the strengthening of the role and capability of the basic organization of the League of Communists for independent and active work among the masses in their own environment and further afield.

The basic condition for the successful and effective realization of the role of the League of Communists is the building and consolidation of its unity on the principles od democratic centralism, direct links with the working class and other working people and the realization of its cohesive role in society. This calls for further strengthening of democratic relations, criticism and self-criticism, development and promotion of collective work and responsibility, living daily direct contact between the organs of League of Communists and the rank and file, and the active involvement of the members and the basic organizations in the building and realization of the policy of the League of Communists.

At the congress it will be essential to place even greater stress on the need to promote and encourage theoretical work in the League of Communists and make greater use of the results of scientific research in the field of anlyzing and solving socioeconomic and political problems. Social practice stresses the need for constant and deep anlysis and for establishing the ideological state of affairs and ideological trends in the League of Communists and in society, as well as the need for preparing the members, basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists for ideological struggle and action in the present-day complex conditions.

The struggle for the strengthening of the working class foundations of the League of Communists, for the fullest possible ideological and political activity of communists and their responsibility in the political system, for ideopolitical preparedness and for being better organized for action, for the revolutionary image and prestige of the members of the League of Communists, the analysis of the causes of the passive attitude, lack of militance and inability of a part of the rank and file to cope in complex situations, the promotion of the contents and quality of ideo-political work and Marxist education, especially in the case of the large number of newly admitted members, the struggle against the manifestations of opportunism, etatist, bureaucratic and liberalist behavior, technocratism and other negative phenomena in society and so forth all represent important questions that should be considered during the preparations and at the congress and in connection with which it is necessary to determine future tasks.

All the above-mentioned and other topical questions, as well as the analysis of the international situation, Yugoslavia's international position and the establishment of a long-term platform and lines of action for our nonaligned foreign policy and international activity and cooperation of the LCY will be at the center of attention of the League of Communists' activity during the preparations for the congress and conferences.

Preparations are in progress in all the republics and provinces. Special working bodies, commissions and working groups have been set up. They gather together, in addition to members of League of Communists organs, a large number of our experienced activists, and are already in the process of actively analyzing the state of affairs and the problems so as to be able to arrive at the best solutions and attitudes concerning the further action of the League of Communists. The Central Committee, as is well known, has set up five commissions charged with preparing the 12th congress and the Presidium is empowered to and charged with making all the preparations.

In connection with the further work on the preparations for the congresses of the League of Communists of the republics and for the provincial conferences which will precede the 12th LCY Congress, and in connection with the preparations for the 12th congress itself I should like to point out a few more questions.

Above all, all the preparations in progress should be intensified, accelerated and coordinated in the best possible way in order that the best possible, more harmonized and basically uniform solutions adapted to the needs and specific requirements of every environment are reached.

In addition the direct and active involvement of the entire membership of the basic League of Communists organizations and organs is of great importance for the success of the preparations for congresses and conferences. In congress preparation, in the construction of the policy and in the formulation of this policy in the documents of the congresses and conferences, attitudes should be adopted which will be the result of a broad democratic debate in the League of Communists and in the public, the fruit of initiatives, of activity and of the mood of all members, of basic and municipal League of Communists organizations and not merely the result of work of the LCY organs and of the League of Communists of the republics and provinces. In this way the preparations for the congresses of the League of Communists of the republics, for the provincial conferences and for the conference of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army will merge into a uniform ideopolitical action of all Yugoslav communists

Preparations for the congresses and conferences which are before us must be public, while in the debates on the analysis of the situation, of the weaknesses and difficulties as well as in formulating attitudes and proposals to resolve them, the League of Communists must mobilize and actively include the entire working class, all the working people and citizens and all our nations and nationalities.

I would like to recall Comrade Tito's words in his report to the 11th LCY Congress: "Always present where the self-managing and political activity of the working masses and citizens is being developed, the League of Communists must be open to their initiatives and aspirations, built its conclusions and wage political action on this. In this way, the League of Communists will be to an even greater extent that which has always been demanded of it--the revolutionary party of the working masses, their most powerful weapon."

The precongress activity, the preparation of the attitudes and draft documents for the forthcoming greatest and most significant gatherings of Yugoslav communists which should reflect the continuity of our revolution and action must, therefore, take place before the working class and the people, and together with them.